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ABSTRACT

This document explores selected issues related to connecting welfare reform initiatives and the literacy movement and provides basic information about literacy education and its economic impact. Literacy is defined, and similarities and differences between adult basic education, adult secondary education, and English-as-a-Second-Language programs are explained. Literacy levels among various segments of the U.S. population and the relationship of literacy to labor market success are discussed. Examined in an overview of federal literacy policy are eight major literacy, welfare, and job training programs and the legislation authorizing them. Discussed next are client characteristics, funding/costs, sponsors, instructors, instructor training, and effectiveness. The functional context approach to literacy education and programs integrating literacy and job skills are highlighted. Seven two-generation and family literacy programs are described, and lessons learned from eight field demonstrations are summarized. The challenges of connecting the adult education and welfare systems and promising programs in three states are identified. Appended are the following: descriptions of efforts to integrate literacy education into welfare reform programs in California, New Jersey, and Ohio; descriptions of major national literacy organizations; and data on funding and earnings impacts of literacy education. Contains 77 references. (MN)

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NATIONAL CENTER ON ADULT LITERACY

LITERACY AND WELFARE REFORM: ARE WE MAKING THE CONNECTION?*

Elena Cohen
Susan Golonka
Rebecca Maynard
Theodora Ooms
Todd Owen

NCAL TECHNICAL REPORT TR94-16
DECEMBER 1994

CO-PUBLISHED WITH

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The National Center on Adult Literacy (NCAL) was established in 1990 by the U.S. Department of Education, with co-funding from the Departments of Labor and Health and Human Services. The mission of NCAL addresses three primary challenges: (a) to enhance the knowledge base about adult literacy; (b) to improve the quality of research and development in the field; and (c) to ensure a strong, two-way relationship between research and practice. Through applied research and development and dissemination of the results to researchers, policymakers, and practitioners, NCAL seeks to improve the quality of adult literacy programs and services on a nationwide basis. NCAL serves as a major operating unit of the Literacy Research Center at the University of Pennsylvania.

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LITERACY AND WELFARE REFORM:

ARE WE MAKING THE CONNECTION?

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Abstract

Many welfare clients lack basic literacy skills. Welfare reform initiatives and the adult literacy movement, however, are only now cooperatively seeking answers to questions about what kinds of education and training welfare mothers need in order to secure stable employment. This report encourages further exchange of information and discussion between the literacy and human services communities, in part by reviewing basic literacy definitions and terms, literacy programs, and federal literacy/welfare policy. New approaches to the literacy problem, such as those found in family and intergenerational programs, are discussed, as are the successes and challenges of recent adult literacy/welfare collaborations, such as the Center for Employment and Training at San Jose, California. Appendices present summary descriptions of innovative welfare reform programs from California, Ohio, and New Jersey that focus on the literacy/job skills connection and a listing of national organizations involved in literacy research and practice.

INTRODUCTION

Literacy is a major problem in this country. Public K-12 education is failing to build competence in as many as 20% of our young people. Low literacy levels adversely impact both individual and national productivity. Individuals with low literacy are at significant risk of un- or underemployment, tend to earn low wages if they are employed, and have high rates of poverty and welfare dependence.

A strong, new, national spotlight is being placed on improving the education and literacy of school children and of adults already in the workforce. For example, one of the National Education Goals shaping Secretary of Education Riley's initiatives to reform America's public schools is that "by the year 2000, every adult American will be literate." Labor Secretary Reich has put forward a number of innovative proposals and initiatives focusing on literacy and skills training for the already employed in order to respond to employers needs for a more highly skilled and literate workforce. There is also a new emphasis on programs to retrain displaced workers to deal with the structural changes in the economy.

What is the connection, however, between efforts to improve literacy and welfare reform? The answer lies in the new bipartisan consensus that the vast majority of welfare mothers should be required to work outside the home. Yet, it is generally acknowledged that most welfare recipients are not well prepared to enter the work force. They have very low levels of education and literacy and little or no employment experience. Stimulated by the Family Support Act of 1988, state welfare reform initiatives have been placing greater emphasis on providing welfare mothers with basic education and job training. Most current proposals for further welfare reform also include resources for a period of education and training, for up to two years in some cases. Yet in all the debates about welfare reform, the questions about what kinds of education and training welfare mothers need to get employment, remain employed, and leave the welfare rolls are rarely posed.

The Administration's welfare reform proposal and the several welfare reform proposals already introduced by members of Congress do emphasize education services. But they do not as yet include provisions that promote innovative or more effective approaches to helping welfare mothers get to the starting post.

One of the reasons for the lack of connection between current welfare reform initiatives and the growing literacy movement is that the field of adult literacy has developed quite separately from the job training and welfare fields, and until recently there has been little interaction between them. However, if the goals of welfare reform are to be realized, the literacy and human service communities should learn from each other and become more effectively linked. This report aims to promote an exchange of information and discussion between the two fields. Specifically, we address the following questions:

- What do we know about the benefits of literacy programs?
- To what extent have literacy programs served the welfare population and how successful have they been?
- What are the most promising approaches to engaging this population and providing them with appropriate instruction and support?
- How have literacy programs accommodated the special needs of hard-to-serve groups in the welfare population such as the learning disabled and those requiring English-as-a-second-language (ESL) instruction?
- To what extent do literacy programs focus on the family unit as the context for effective literacy instruction and long-term, two-generational impact?
- What kinds of connections have been forged between the different sectors in implementing these programs?
- What have been some of the barriers to successful linkages, and what strategies have been used to overcome them?

This report explores a number of these issues and questions. However, several important issues are not dealt with here. First is the concern about what kinds of jobs, if any, are going to be available for welfare mothers. In part, the answer to this question will vary considerably from community to community and state to state. From a national perspective, this issue raises complex questions about future trends in the demand for low-skilled workers which, in turn, depend on American competitiveness in a global economy, the status of labor relations, and other factors. These issues are beyond the scope of this paper (but see forthcoming volume based on the Urban Institute's March 1994 Conference "Self Sufficiency and the Low Wage Labor-Market: A Reality Check for Welfare Reform").

Second, we do not address strategies for improving the literacy skills and employment rates of noncustodial fathers of children receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) in order to increase the amounts and payment of child support. This is increasingly viewed as one component of a multipronged strategy to help welfare mothers become economically independent. Two recent pilot demonstrations have emphasized the feasibility of this approach and a full-fledged demonstration is now underway (see Bloom & Sherwood, 1994; Lerman & Ooms, 1993).

Finally, we do not discuss the value of using new technologies in literacy instruction with welfare clients. Interactive computerized instruction programs have been little used in welfare-to-work programs. However, they appear to have considerable promise in overcoming the barriers of motivation and shame associated with standard one-on-one tutoring or small group, classroom instruction. (Readers interested in this topic should consult: Office of Technology Assessment, 1993; Turner, 1993.)

This report is guided by the following underlying assumptions:

- First, welfare mothers are a heterogeneous population in terms of educational background, abilities, and work experience. Each subgroup of mothers requires different strategies and approaches.

- Second, any literacy program serving welfare mothers must take into account their family responsibilities.
- Third, for a substantial portion of these women, especially those who first gave birth as teenagers, a low level of literacy is only one of a number of barriers to successful employment. Other barriers include poor health, unstable housing, low self-esteem, and extreme levels of family stress. To be successful with this group, any literacy and skills training program must also find ways to address these other barriers.
- Fourth, a mother's low literacy has a profound impact on the economic and general well-being of her children. Strategies that use the family context as both the motivation and crucible for promoting effective learning for parent and children together may be more effective in reducing the intergenerational cycle of poverty and dependency.

These questions and issues become more urgent and salient as states and the federal government move into a new, more intense phase of welfare reform. Building on the information provided in this report we recommend that all welfare proposals at federal and state levels be critically assessed in terms of the following key questions:

- To what extent does the proposal devote specific attention and resources to literacy education?
- To what extent does it include any incentives to design and implement programs that are specifically tailored to the needs, characteristics, and family responsibilities of welfare mothers?
- Is the diversity within the welfare population taken into account in terms of the program design and requirements ?
- To what extent are there any incentives for programs to employ promising educational strategies that are integrated into the context of job and/or family?
- Are there any requirements for performance standards for literacy instruction based on individualized client outcomes?
- Does the proposal seriously address the structural barriers that make it difficult for the education, labor, and human service sectors to connect their efforts and resources?

DEFINITIONS AND TERMS*

(Sources: Campbell, Kirsch, & Kolstad, 1992; Kirsch, Jungeblut, Jenkins, & Kolstad, 1993; OTA, 1993; Venezky, 1992)

DEFINITION OF LITERACY

The definition of literacy has undergone a transformation over the past decade. Traditional definitions emphasized an arbitrary standard as the cut off—an individual was deemed either literate or not based on, for example, the ability to sign one's name, completion of five years of schooling, or scoring at the 8th-grade level on a test of reading achievement. Basic skills tests focused on a narrow range of skills such as performance on reading decoding and comprehension. The new thinking about literacy emphasizes literacy as a continuum of a broader range of skills.

As defined in the National Literacy Act of 1991, *literacy* is "an individual's ability to read, write, and speak in English and compute and solve problems at a level of proficiency necessary to function on the job and in society, to achieve one's goals and to develop one's knowledge and potential."

A framework of three sets of scales was gradually developed and standardized in several national surveys during the eighties, most notably the Young Adult Literacy Survey (YALS), which operationalized this more complex definition of literacy. These scales assessed literacy along three dimensions:

- prose literacy (e.g., ability to read and comprehend news stories, editorials, poems, and fiction),
- document literacy (e.g., ability to fill out or use job applications, maps, and transportation schedules), and
- quantitative literacy (e.g., ability to balance a check book or determine the amount of interest on a loan).

This framework became the basis for the survey questionnaire used in the National Adult Literacy Survey (NALS), the third and largest assessment of adult literacy funded by the federal government and conducted by the Educational Testing Service. The report of this survey was published in September 1993 (Kirsch et al., 1993).

Currently, a melange of literacy tests are used by programs in the field to screen and place clients, and assess progress and program effectiveness. They typically assess a narrow range of reading skills and make little attempt to assess arithmetic and writing abilities. Most tests have been basic skill tests (most often developed from similar tests for children) and tend to report scores in grade-level equivalents. One of the most commonly used tests is the

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* Since basic background information about the field of literacy may not be familiar to readers from the human services sector, this report includes sections on basic literacy definitions and terms, a description of literacy programs, and a brief overview of federal literacy policy. Readers familiar with these subjects may wish to skip these sections.

Tests of Adult Basic Education (TABE), which, if the full test is given, can take about three hours to administer. Another commonly used test, the Armed Forces Qualifying Test (AFQT), can be taken in just over an hour.

According to Venezky (1992), these tests provide data with widely varying degrees of reliability, validity, and comparability. He questions the reliability of the tests as a screening/placement device since adults entering literacy programs typically have poor test-taking skills, low self-confidence, and associate testing with earlier school failure. Venezky also points out that since these tests are incompatible with the functional measures used in recent national surveys, they are of limited use to policymakers. "Without an accurate measure of individual progress that links to national trend data, and without linking both to functional levels, little can be decided about long-term impacts of programs" (Venezky, 1992, p. 7).

LITERACY PROGRAMS

Adult literacy programs are highly diverse in design, sponsorship, and type of population served. They range from small, one-on-one volunteer tutoring programs to large, publicly funded programs that serve thousands. Programs serve many different purposes: (a) some are preparation for, or integrated into, job training; (b) others may be a component of a family support or parenting education program; and (c) others may be part of a voluntary adult education program. Some serve noncitizen immigrants who do not speak English, while others serve employed citizens anxious to get better jobs or those who are homeless or incarcerated. Most literacy programs are offered free, and most participants attend the programs voluntarily.

The three most common types of literacy programs are adult basic education (ABE), adult secondary education (ASE), and English as a second language (ESL).

- *Adult Basic Education (ABE).* Adult basic education programs typically serve adults with reading skills below the 8th-grade level. Beginning literacy instruction, often provided by volunteer and community-based organizations, serves students whose reading skills are assessed at the 3rd grade or lower. Most ABE instruction is at the 4th- to 8th-grade levels. Since most adult students have some reading skills, many programs focus on improving basic reading skills, with goals frequently related to practical tasks like filling out job applications and reading the classified ads. Enrollment in ABE programs has remained relatively constant since the 1980s, and includes about 35% of those in adult education programs.
- *Adult Secondary Education (ASE).* Adult secondary education programs serve adults with reading skills at the secondary or high school level (8th-12th grade). These programs generally focus on attaining a high school diploma either by passing the General Educational Development (GED) exam or completing course work. There are three types of ASE programs: high school completion programs, the External Diploma Program, and the GED Certificate Program. The vast majority participate in the GED Certificate

Program to obtain a high school diploma. Enrollment in ASE programs grew significantly from 1980 to 1990 (104%) and now constitutes about 30% of adult education programs.

- *English as a Second Language (ESL).* According to the overview report prepared by the Office of Technology Assessment (OTA, 1993), ESL is the fastest growing of the three types of literacy programs and serves the largest number of adult literacy students in the United States. This is due, in part, to the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, which mandated 40 hours of adult education in a second language and citizenship if the person seeking amnesty had not attained a certain level of English proficiency. Over one third of all students enrolled in adult education receive ESL instruction, slightly more than those engaged in adult basic education. ESL instruction involves all the same difficulties that basic education classes have in serving adults, with a much more diverse learner population. ESL students bring with them a wide range of native languages and levels of English proficiency, and diverse levels of literacy and education in their native languages. As a result, instruction focuses on both literacy and language instruction and often includes a great deal of cultural orientation. Chisman, Spruck-Wrigley, and Ewen (1993) estimate that 1.8 million adults are enrolled in some form of ESL instruction each year.

Hispanic families are a rapidly growing proportion of the welfare population and this contributes to an increasing need to include ESL classes in the education component of welfare reform initiatives. In 1983, 12% of the AFDC population was Hispanic, and by 1991, this proportion had grown to 17.4% (Committee on Ways and Means, 1993). The ten mainland states with the highest percentage of Hispanic welfare recipients were New Mexico (57%), Texas (41%), New York (38.2%), Colorado (36.2%), Connecticut (33.6%), Arizona (33.4%), California (29.2%), New Jersey (26.8%), Massachusetts (24.7%), and Rhode Island (18.7%).

In this report, we consistently refer to *welfare mothers* since the typical adult AFDC client is a mother, although it should be noted that there are a few fathers who are heads of welfare, single-parent households. And there is a small, but growing number of two-parent households that receive welfare under the AFDC-Unemployed Parent program, which has been mandated in all the states since 1988. In 1991, 7.1% of AFDC children lived in AFDC-UP households (Committee on Ways and Means, 1993).

At any one point in time, the vast majority of welfare mothers are adult. In 1991, only 8.1% of AFDC families were headed by a mother under 18 years of age, although an additional but unknown number of teenage mothers are included as members of households headed by an adult, typically her mother (Committee on Ways and Means, 1993). However, it is estimated that almost half (42%) of all single women currently receiving AFDC originally gave birth as teenagers (U.S. GAO, 1994).

Family literacy is a term gaining increased recognition, and it is applied to a wide variety of programs in which literacy efforts are targeted on more than one member of a family. However, in most family literacy programs, "family" typically refers to the unit of mother and one child. Increasingly, family literacy programs are making efforts to involve other members of the family such as fathers, grandparents, and siblings.

LITERACY PROFILES

The United States has supported several national surveys to measure the literacy levels of the American population, the most recent being the National Adult Literacy Survey (NALS) (Kirsch et al., 1993). Complementing these literacy surveys are other general purpose surveys that include literacy measures among the many other social and economic indicators, such as the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, which administered the Armed Forces Qualifying Test (AFQT). There are also several other specialized data sets developed in conjunction with evaluations of policy initiatives in which literacy levels of the target population were a focus of the intervention or an important conditioning factor—for example, surveys conducted in conjunction with the welfare reform demonstrations or evaluations of the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) programs.

From all these sources of data, we are able to compile a fairly detailed portrait of the literacy levels of the general population. However, there have been no surveys designed specifically to find out about the literacy of welfare clients, and the NALS, in its questions about income, did not specifically ask about welfare receipt (although it did ask questions about receipt of food stamps). Thus, the literacy profile of welfare clients is considerably less complete than is desirable.

However, there is evidence that mothers who are short-term recipients (those receiving welfare for three years or less in the previous five years) do not differ greatly in terms of personal attributes (such as cognitive achievement scores) or background characteristics (such as low self-esteem) from poor mothers who have not received welfare. By contrast, long-term welfare recipients (defined in the study as those receiving welfare for more than three of the previous five years) are worse off than non-AFDC poor mothers on most measures of "human capital" and employment history (Zill, Moore, Nord, & Stief, 1991, p. 43).

GENERAL LITERACY LEVELS

Nationwide, more than 20% of adults have extremely limited literacy proficiencies—being able to read and comprehend at most brief, simple articles, identify specific pieces of information or facts from text, and total a simple column of numbers (Kirsch et al., 1993) (see Figure 1 in Appendix D). At the other extreme, less than 5% exhibit high levels of proficiency in reading and math skills—being able to read and comprehend dense text, draw higher order inferences from text, apply specialized knowledge, solve complex math problems, and perform multiple, sequential mathematical operations.

It is particularly distressing to find that significant numbers of high school graduates fall into these low levels of literacy, especially given the strong emphasis in many welfare reform initiatives on completing high school. For example, 15 to 20% of high school graduates fall into this lowest skill level—16% for prose literacy, 20% for document literacy, and 18% for quantitative literacy (Kirsch et al., 1993). Among young adults, even substantially higher proportions fell into this lowest performance category. About 25% of those scoring below 200 and 40% of those scoring between 200 and 250 were high school graduates (Strain & Kisker, 1989). Another study reported that only about half of young adults who completed high school in the 1980s had the basic skills (measured by the AFQT) necessary for training (Taggart, Sum, & Berlin, 1987).

LITERACY LEVELS AMONG THE DISADVANTAGED

Low literacy levels are strongly related to other measures of social and economic disadvantage. Rates are especially high among minorities and among poor families. For example, only about 15% of white, young adults are judged to be functional or marginal illiterates (proficiency scores lower than 226), compared with 38% of blacks and 54% of Hispanics (Kirsch et al., 1993). Although only somewhat smaller proportions of whites than blacks or Hispanics fall into the lowest functioning group, much higher proportions of those from minority ethnic groups fall into these lowest two literacy levels. (Patterns for document and quantitative literacy levels parallel these for prose literacy.)

In general, those with low basic skills score well below those with higher skills on a number of social indicators. For example, 43% of those in the lowest skill level live in poverty, 17% receive food stamps, only one fourth have income from savings, and only 30% are employed full time. In contrast, among those in the highest literacy level, less than 5% live in poverty, 1% or less receive food stamps, over 70% are employed full time, and over 80% have income from savings (Kirsch et al., 1993).

Among young adults, those with especially low basic skills include those living in poverty, school dropouts, unwed parents, and those with arrest records. In each case, more than two thirds of those in the group have lower than average basic skills. The lowest performing group is unwed mothers and school dropouts, over half of whom are in the bottom fifth of the skills distribution (Strain & Kisker, 1989).

BASIC SKILLS OF WELFARE RECIPIENTS

A common theme in welfare reform discussions is the growing mismatch between the skills of the low-income population (particularly welfare recipients) and the skills demanded by employers. For example, welfare recipients have average reading and math skills, about the level of the typical 8th-grader (Martinson & Friedlander, 1994; Maynard, Nicholson, & Rangarajan, 1993), and few possess the higher order thinking and analytic skills alleged to be generally demanded by today's employers (Kirsch and Jungeblut, 1986; Rangarajan, Kisker, & Maynard, 1992; Strain & Kisker, 1989).

Drawing on several different national survey databases, Child Trends compiled a profile of the characteristics of welfare mothers related to their success in the labor market (Zill et al., 1991). By one measure, 30% of welfare recipients have basic skills below those of the minimum skill level of all women in the lowest occupation skill areas (manual operatives) (Zill et al., 1991).

By other measures, as many as two thirds of the AFDC recipients enrolled in the Job Opportunities and Basic Skills Training Program (JOBS) have been judged to need basic skills upgrades prior to moving into the work force (Martinson & Friedlander, 1994). These are individuals who do not have a high school diploma or equivalent credential, who have minimum scores roughly equivalent to the lowest performance category on the NALS exam, or who are not proficient in English. Indeed, nearly half of AFDC mothers aged 22 to 30 have AFQT scores that are more than one standard deviation below the national average, and only 7% have scores that are more than one standard deviation above the mean (Zill et al., 1991).

The Child Trends study points out that there is considerable diversity within the population of welfare mothers in terms of literacy and employment experience. For example, nearly one quarter have cognitive achievement scores that are average or above, and 20% have at least two years of work experience in the previous five years. Thus, women in the top quartile of the distribution are quite "job ready." Those in the bottom half have extremely low literacy skills and meager employment skills that, when combined with feelings of helplessness and hopelessness, pose a very different challenge to the education and training systems.

Women who are long-term welfare recipients have lower cognitive achievement scores, less education, and somewhat lower self-esteem than short-term recipients. In addition, many welfare mothers suffer from conditions such as high levels of learning disability, poor physical health, depression, substance abuse, and low self-esteem, which can all pose severe barriers to success in education and employment programs (Zill et al., 1991).

LEARNING DISABILITIES IN THE WELFARE POPULATION

(Sources: Center for Law and Social Policy, 1993; Fowler & Scarborough, 1993; Gerber & Reiff, 1994; HEATH Resource Center, 1989; Nightingale, Yudd, Anderson, & Barnow, 1991; Payne, n.d.)

Recent studies suggest that learning disabilities are very prevalent within the welfare population and constitute a major, but largely unacknowledged, barrier to successful education and employment (Nightingale et al., 1991). Since there are no current statistics on the learning disabled population in employment and training programs, estimates of this proportion have to be extrapolated from other figures. Adults with learning disabilities (LD) is the largest of the disabilities groups (Interagency Committee on Learning Disabilities, 1987), and there is also evidence of a high incidence of learning disabilities and functional illiteracy among the economically disadvantaged population.

The 1991 Department of Labor report, *The Learning Disabled in Employment and Training Programs,* estimates that 20 to 29% of economically disadvantaged adults are functionally illiterate (Nightingale et al., 1991). Adult basic education (ABE) is the only major program about which there is information on the number of learning disabled participants. It is estimated that between 50 and 80% of ABE students and 15 to 23% of all JTPA participants may be learning disabled. Significantly, this study estimated that between 25 to

40% of all adults on AFDC and in the JOBS program have some degree of learning disability.

Learning disabilities is a generic term that refers to a heterogeneous group of problems manifested by significant difficulties in the acquisition and use of listening, speaking, reading, writing, reasoning, or mathematical abilities or of social skills. As with all disabilities, the level of severity and the impact on the individual can vary greatly. While there is no typical profile of a learning disabled adult, most exhibit a significant discrepancy between their apparent ability to perform in one or more areas and the actual level of performance. These problems are presumed to be due to central nervous system dysfunction.

The term learning disabilities is relatively new in the field of adult education. The study of adults and lifespan issues related to learning disabilities has traditionally lagged behind the work done with children. To this date—although it is now generally understood that LD persist into adulthood and may affect an individual in social, employment, and academic settings—very few states have adopted a definition of LD pertinent to adults and adult service providers.

There are different perspectives on how important it is for literacy programs to make special efforts to identify individuals who are learning disabled and refer them for special kinds of training to learn how to overcome their disabilities. Those who are somewhat doubtful point out that tests for learning disabilities may overstate the difficulties that an individual may have on the job. In addition, Fowler and Scarborough (1993) indicate that to date there is no evidence to confirm (or refute) the statement that most adults who fail to respond in literacy training are, in fact, reading disabled. Furthermore, these authors do not believe there is sufficient evidence that the learning disabled respond differently to different kinds of instruction and suggest that there are disadvantages to labeling individuals as learning disabled.

On the other hand, an increasing number of experts believe that many adults with learning disabilities fail or drop out of job training efforts because these programs are not geared to meet their needs (Gerber& Reiff, 1994). They believe that welfare reform efforts will not succeed until learning disabilities are more widely acknowledged and better ways are developed to identify and remedy those disabilities that are related to successful training and job performance.

Nightingale et al. (1991) point out that it is relatively easy to train people to administer a simple screening test for learning disabilities and that there are substantial benefits to be gained from helping adults understand and learn how to compensate for their learning disabilities. Since many of these adults may have average or high IQs and become quite successful in the job market, it is believed that these special efforts will prove to be cost effective. The National Institute for Literacy (NIL) has made the development of an effective and valid screening device for adults with learning disabilities a high priority (see the National Adult Literacy and Learning Disability Center, p. B–i).

The Washington State Department of Social and Health Services has developed a pilot project to provide effective case management and educational accommodations to AFDC/JOBS clients with learning disabilities. The goal of this project is to ensure that learning disabled participants are able to successfully complete adult basic education and obtain the skills to become self-sufficient.

RELATIONSHIP OF LITERACY TO LABOR MARKET SUCCESS

Clearly there are strong relationships between literacy and employment opportunities, which in turn relate to the economic well-being of families. Lower skilled individuals are less likely to participate in the labor force. In part, this is because they perceive there to be no jobs available to them and, in part, it is because their earnings potential is so low that there is little incentive for them to work. For example, more than half of those with the lowest literacy levels were out of the labor force (not employed and not looking for work) compared with only 10% of those in the highest (Kirsch et al., 1993). While employment rates among those in the labor force are high and similar across skills groups, earnings differ significantly, with employed workers who are marginally literate earning only one third as much as those in the top skills group.

While there are strong correlations between basic skills measures and job performance, the relationship is far from perfect. There is a substantial body of evidence suggesting that individuals with marginal basic skills and learning disabilities can, and in many cases do, master the basic skills necessary to hold a competitive job. For example, close to half of young minority female single parents with lower than average literacy skills are employed, as are over two thirds of all young adults with below average skills (Strain & Kisker, 1989). And one third of teenage parents reading below the 7th-grade level were employed, compared with about half of those with higher reading skills (Rangarajan et al., 1992) (see Figure 2 in Appendix D). The key to the success of many of these lower skilled individuals has been in tailoring the jobs and the job training methods to the specific learning styles and abilities of the individuals and to their acceptance of relatively low compensation (Burghardt & Gordon, 1990; Edgar 1988; Kohaska & Skolnik, 1986; Maynard, 1994; Nightingale et al., 1991).

Indeed, it is interesting to note that the employment rates among low-skilled males are much higher than those among low-skilled females. For example, nearly 90% of young males with lower than average prose comprehension skills are employed, as compared with only half of similarly skilled females. Moreover, the employment rate differential between lower skilled and higher skilled, young minority single parents is only 6 percentage points—49 versus 55% (Strain & Kisker, 1989). In contrast, there is a 35 percentage point difference in the poverty rates among these groups (75 versus 40%), highlighting the greater differences in the quality of the jobs held by the lower and higher skilled young single mothers.

Low levels of adult literacy is only one factor among many that impede the labor market and economic success of welfare recipients. Nevertheless, for many welfare mothers, improving their basic literacy skills is a necessary first step toward promoting their self-sufficiency..Significant challenges will be faced in moving from the realization that the skills gap is an important factor in the poverty and limited employment success of welfare recipients to remedying this problem and seeing these mothers attain self-sufficiency.

Significant changes in the economy over the past two decades have impacted both the skill requirements of employers as well as the requirements for entry into job training programs such as those sponsored by JTPA. Nonetheless, the situation may not be as bleak as implied by the rhetoric. A recent survey of employers suggested that social skills and work habits were more important than basic reading and math skills for low-end jobs (Maxfield, 1989). Moreover, while there are strong correlations between measured skills of welfare recipients and their success in the labor market, a sizable portion of those who gain employment have low skill measures and vice versa (Burghardt & Gordon, 1990; Maynard et al., 1993; Rangarajan et al., 1992).

FEDERAL LITERACY POLICY: AN OVERVIEW

(Sources: Alamprese & Sivilli, 1992; Koloski, 1993; Office of Technology Assessment, 1993)

The federal government's interest in adult literacy goes back several decades. As early as 1929, for example, President Herbert Hoover appointed the Advisory Committee on National Illiteracy to spearhead a privately funded campaign with the goal of teaching five million adults to read.

Since then, a patchwork of federal adult literacy programs has been created in a highly fragmented and categorical manner. Numerous individual programs have been established to meet specific needs of particular categories of individuals. A report commissioned by the U.S. Department of Education identified 84 programs in 11 federal agencies that supported adult education services in FY 1989 (Alamprese & Sivilli, 1992). Of these, 27 were identified as "primary" programs with adult education explicitly stated as a priority objective in the program's authorizing legislation and 26 were identified as "secondary" with adult education identified as an approved activity that supports the primary objective of the program (such as JOBS). Thirty-one more were "indirect"—there is no explicit legislative mandate for adult education activities and a policy decision is required to fund such activities (e.g., the Community Services Block Grant). The dominant focus of the programs identified as primary and secondary was basic skills/literacy followed by English as a second language and adult secondary education/GED.

The Office of Technology Assessment's 1993 report focused on a smaller group of core programs that comprise the bulk of the federal efforts in adult literacy and basic skills education. It identified 29 programs in seven agencies that have literacy as a primary mission, as well as a few others, like JTPA, JOBS, and refugee/immigrant programs, that have the potential for significantly influencing adult literacy and basic skills education. The primary funding agencies were the Departments of Education, Health and Human Services, Labor, Defense, Interior, and Justice, and the independent agency ACTION.

Whether the tally is 29 or 84, the picture that emerges is a federal nonsystem of multiple programs, most with very small appropriations, responding to different aspects of the literacy problem. Moreover, as the influence of the Department of Labor and the Department of Health and Human Services in the delivery of literacy services has grown, so has the involvement of state agencies beyond the state education agencies. State welfare and employment training agencies, the state library system, refugee services, corrections, and higher education are now helping to form an intricate pattern of relationships with local providers. This is well illustrated in the chart from the OTA report (see Figure 3 in Appendix D). For a local provider, such as a local education agency or a vocational school, the problems resulting from duplicative administrative requirements, eligibility restrictions, different funding streams, and paperwork requirements can be quite onerous.

The most significant action in the history of the federal role in literacy was the passage of the Adult Education Act (AEA) in 1966. This Act, which remains the foundation of federal and state literacy efforts, transferred the responsibility for adult basic literacy skills from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the U.S. Office of Education within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The program was broadened to include basic education, English as a second language, and citizenship education programs. A formula-based grant allocated funds to states to provide adult education services. The AEA, funded at $19.9 million in 1966, provided the impetus to states to designate a Director of Adult Education, develop state plans for allocating funds locally, and spend their own funds on adult education.

While the initial Adult Education Act was broadly targeted to any adult who desired literacy services, new legislative initiatives in the 1980s tended to focus on more narrowly defined populations such as refugees (State Legalization Impact Assistance Grants [SLIAG]), single mothers, (Job Opportunities and Basic Skills [JOBS]), the homeless (McKinney Homeless Assistance Act), and the incarcerated (Crime Control Act).

In these programs, improving literacy is viewed not just as an end in itself, but a means for helping to mainstream immigrants, help move people off welfare, increase employability, and reduce criminal recidivism. Amendments to the Adult Education Act in 1988 established new programs, including workplace literacy partnerships and the Even Start program for educationally disadvantaged parents and their children. The Job Training Partnership Act program added remedial education to the services in Title II-B and in 1988, the Family Support Act mandated that states provide literacy education and basic skills as part of their welfare-to-work JOBS programs.

This targeting is not without its critics, however, as many of these individuals, particularly JOBS clients, whose participation may be mandated, will be filling slots in AEA-funded programs and may displace those who do not fit into the targets, such as working adults, adults with learning disabilities, and educationally disadvantaged adults above the poverty line who have traditionally benefited under the AEA.

One analyst has commented that in recent decades Congress has "tied the fortunes of the federal human service agenda to the effectiveness of the literacy system in performing the new jobs assigned to it." Whether the literacy system is up to this challenge remains to be determined.

In 1990, the National Center on Adult Literacy was established at the University of Pennsylvania with funding from Departments of Education, Labor, and Health and Human Services to provide national leadership for research and development in adult literacy (see p. B–ii).

In 1991, with the enactment of the National Literacy Act, Congress attempted to address some of the criticisms regarding a lack of attention to technical assistance and teacher training, research, and data collection. Specifically, the Act created a new National Institute for Literacy to serve as a central clearinghouse and to undertake these tasks as well as provide advice on policy. The Institute is jointly administered by the Department of Education, the Department of Labor, and the Department of Health and Human Services (see p. B–iii). The Act also provided for the creation of state resource centers to encourage the coordination of literacy efforts, provide training and technical assistance, and promote innovation. While the state resource centers were authorized at $25 million, FY 1993 funding was only $7 million.

OTA estimates that at least $362 million was appropriated in FY 1992 for adult literacy by the federal government, more than double the FY 1988 appropriation for roughly the same programs. Thus, adult literacy programs, in general, and the Adult Education Act, in particular, experienced a significant increase during a period of very limited growth in most other domestic programs.

Total federal funding for literacy is actually much higher, however, because expenditures for adult basic skills and literacy under such large programs as JTPA, JOBS, and SLIAG are not tracked separately and were not included in the OTA figure. Still, many are critical of the federal government's investment in literacy because it is so much less than funding for vocational education, special education, or Chapter 1. Funding for the Adult Education Act amounts to just 1% of the total Department of Education budget. The Department of Education estimated that from 1990 to 1991, federal adult education programs served 3.6 million individuals—only 5 to 10% of the illiterate population.

Because of the many requirements that states must meet as a condition of receiving federal literacy funds (including a state match for some programs), the federal government has played a major role in fostering the development of a state adult education bureaucracy and higher state spending. The Department of Education estimates that state and local spending on adult education programs is four times greater than federal funding.

DESCRIPTIONS OF MAJOR FEDERAL PROGRAMS AND POLICY INITIATIVES

Below, we provide a brief overview of the major federal literacy programs.

ADULT EDUCATION ACT (AEA)—STATE-ADMINISTERED BASIC GRANT PROGRAM

The cornerstone for publicly funded adult literacy activities, the AEA, is administered by the Office of Vocational and Adult Education in the

Department of Education. A formula grant with a 75%/25% federal/state match provides funds to states based on the number of adults over 16 years of age who do not have a high school diploma or the equivalent. While provisions of the AEA influence the structure of programs, state laws and regulations also have a great impact on the organization and delivery of services. The amount of funds states provide varies significantly. In California, federal funds accounted for only 4% of adult basic education expenditures in FY 1989, and programs are only minimally influenced by AEA regulations. Other states rely heavily on federal funding, and AEA regulations, such as limiting funds for secondary education, have a significant impact on programs. In program year 1989, state funding for activities supported by the AEA was significantly less than the federal amount in 14 states, nearly equal in 11 states, and considerably more than federal funding in 26 states (Development Associates, 1992).

States may use the funds to provide direct adult education services in basic skills, literacy, adult secondary education, and English as a second language. Funds may also be used for staff development and special demonstration projects such as development of basic skills workplace program curriculum, volunteer training methods, and use of technology for instruction. The FY 1993 appropriation for the state basic grant program was $260 million.

State education agencies must submit a state plan every four years, which must be reviewed by state board for vocational education, state postsecondary education governing bodies, and Job Training Coordinating Councils. States are also encouraged to coordinate with related programs such as JOBS and JTPA. States generally pass on the funds to local education agencies and other public and private community-based agencies.

AEA programs are available without charge to anyone who needs assistance in basic literacy skills or completion of a high school diploma. The focus is on educationally disadvantaged adults, services for institutionalized adults, and programs for residents of public housing. Amendments to the Act in 1988 and 1991 required states to place greater emphasis on program evaluations and to develop measures of program quality and outcome measures.

IMMIGRANT REFUGEE AND CONTROL ACT

The 1986 Immigrant Refugee Control Act and a subsequent amendment in 1988 provided amnesty for illegal immigrants in the United States if they participated in a minimum of 40 hours of adult education and demonstrated satisfactory progress in learning minimal English, U.S. history, and citizenship skills. The 1988 amendment established State Legalization Impact Assistance Grants (SLIAG), which are awarded to states on a formula basis to help them offset the costs incurred in providing service to eligible aliens. Allowable services include public assistance, public health services, and education and outreach activities. Adult education activities supported by the grants include basic skills, GED preparation, citizenship training, and ESL for adults with limited English proficiency. Funding for this program expired in 1992 although states can continue to carry money forward through 1994.

The Immigration Act of 1990, which permitted greater immigration, also helped fuel a demand for English-as-a-second-language (ESL) programs. Currently, one in every three students enrolled in adult education participates in ESL instruction, but services still fall short of need. With the funding for

SLIAG running out, there will be even greater demand for ESL services provided by AEA funds.

FAMILY LITERACY PROGRAMS

With research demonstrating the link between parents' educational achievement and a child's school achievement, federal interest in family literacy or two-generation approaches has increased. Even Start is the largest of three federal family literacy programs. It is administered out of the Office of Elementary and Secondary Education, Department of Education and provides funds to state and local education agencies for projects that encourage parents to participate in their children's education. The Even Start program began in 1989 as a discretionary grant program with an appropriation of $14.5 million. In 1992, when funding reached $70 million, Even Start became a state formula grant program with allocations to state education agencies based on the Chapter 1 formula. Additional family literacy programs funded by the federal government include a small discretionary program called the Bilingual Family English Literacy Program and the Head Start Family Literacy Initiatives, an effort to encourage all Head Start grantees to incorporate family literacy into their regular activities. (See descriptions on p. 30)

STEWART McKINNEY HOMELESS ASSISTANCE ACT

Education for homeless adults is provided under the McKinney Act through funds to state education agencies. Primary components include basic skills remediation, literacy training, high school preparation programs, curriculum development, counseling services, coordination, and outreach, with the goal of reducing dependency. Since 1988, funding has ranged from $7.2 million to $9.7 million.

CRIME CONTROL ACT OF 1990

Illiteracy among the prison population is particularly high. The Department of Education found that four out of five inmates do not have a high school diploma and more than 75% lack basic reading and mathematical skills. In 1990, Congress passed the Crime Control Act requiring all inmates in federal prisons to be tested when they enter a federal facility. Individuals testing below an 8th-grade equivalency must attend adult education for 120 days or until a GED certificate is obtained. Those inmates with limited English skills must attend an ESL program. With the implementation of mandated participation in literacy programs, the Federal Bureau of Prison's budget for literacy services has increased from 25% of its total budget in FY 1988 to 40% in FY 1991. While the federal prisons hold only 5% of the inmate population, states are increasingly mandating participation in literacy programs by their inmates as well. In 1992, 17 states and the District of Columbia had mandatory literacy programs. Two small programs authorized in the 1991 National Literacy Act provided $5 million in appropriations in FY 1992 to state or local correctional agencies for programs in functional literacy or life skills.

THE JOB TRAINING PARTNERSHIP ACT (JTPA)

The Job Training Partnership Act, adopted by Congress in 1982, provides states with funds to create basic skills and job training programs for economically disadvantaged youth, adults, and others with special needs who face barriers to employment.

States distribute the majority of funds (78%) to designated service delivery areas, which are in turn administered by local governments in conjunction with Private Industry Councils (PICs), composed of representatives from the business, labor, and education communities. They may provide services directly themselves or contract with local entities such as vocational schools and community colleges. Eight percent of a state's allocation is set aside for educational programs generally administered by state educational agencies. This allotment can be used to support coordination efforts between education and training programs, literacy training for youth and adults, drop-out prevention, and school-to-work transition services.

JTPA provides five types of services to adults. The three major ones are occupational classroom training, basic/remedial education (including ESL), and on-the-job training. Job search assistance and support services, such as transportation and child care, are also provided. JTPA is an outcomes-oriented program with performance standards based on the status of clients 90 days after completion of a program.

In 1992, in response to criticisms that local programs were "creaming," the JTPA was amended to target services more directly on those considered "hard to serve." A minimum of 65% of JTPA adult recipients must have, in addition to being economically disadvantaged, one characteristic that defines them as being "hard to serve." These include "receipt of cash payments, including recipients under the JOBS program," being a school dropout, deficient in basic skills, or homeless. The amendments also raised the maximum allowable expenditure on support services from 20 to 30% recognizing that "hard-to-serve" individuals often have greater needs. JTPA's commitment to targeting services to the more disadvantaged individuals, particularly AFDC recipients, has resulted in stronger links between state JTPA and JOBS programs.

In FY 1992, $1.8 billion was appropriated for Title II-A, which authorizes services for adults. However, because there is no separate accounting for basic skills programs, it is impossible to determine how much states have spent in that area.

THE FAMILY SUPPORT ACT OF 1988: MAKING THE CONNECTION BETWEEN LITERACY AND WELFARE

(Sources: Greenberg, 1990; Gueron & Pauly, 1991; Porter, 1990)

The first major step in federal policy toward recognizing the linkages between literacy education and ending welfare dependency was enacted in 1988, when Congress passed major welfare reform legislation, the Family Support Act (FSA), and created the Job Opportunities and Basic Skills (JOBS) program. This legislation provided $1 billion in matching funds to states to provide AFDC recipients with the education, job training, and other services needed to enable them to move off welfare, become self-sufficient, and avoid long-term dependence. The provisions of the JOBS program encourage states to move into new directions in their welfare-to-work programs, including targeting efforts toward long-term or potential long-term recipients with employment barriers and focusing on educational activities and training.

As noted above, studies have found that up to 50% of women receiving public assistance do not have a high school diploma. Recognizing that poor basic skills and inadequate educational attainment are barriers to self-sufficiency, Congress made education a principal component of the JOBS program by mandating that states provide it to certain welfare recipients (under age 20). The passage of the Family Support Act in 1988 not only created a much greater demand for literacy services among the welfare population, it also provided states with an opportunity to receive federal matching funds to help meet this need.

Prior to enactment, specific findings on the effectiveness of basic adult education programs for AFDC recipients was somewhat limited because very few states had concentrated specifically on education. Research by the Manpower Development Research Corporation on a range of state welfare-to-work demonstration programs suggests that including higher cost, more intensive components, such as education and skills training, in welfare-to-work programs that hitherto contained mainly job search and work experience led to larger absolute earnings gains per person than those programs that did not include these components (Gueron & Pauly, 1991).

Prior to the implementation of JOBS, few state welfare-to-work initiatives had concentrated on education services as a major priority. A National Governor's Association survey (Figuero & Silvanik, 1989) found that 32 states reported that they included education among the services provided in their welfare-to-work programs, but only 8 states tested the educational skills of all their program participants and only 9 states had data on the percentage of their AFDC recipients that had completed high school. The most commonly reported education components were basic remedial education and high school/GED instruction, often consisting of referrals to adult education programs. For the most part, the survey found participation in educational activities to be low.

Specific Provisions of JOBS Relating to Education

Mandated Activities. Under the Family Support Act, states are mandated to include four components in their JOBS program—education below the postsecondary level, job skills training, job readiness activities, and job development and placement. Additionally, states must include at least two of four optional components—job search, on-the-job training, work supplementation, or community work experience. States, at their option, may also include postsecondary education in their JOBS program.

Any education activity below the postsecondary level that the state determines is needed to meet an individual's employability plan is appropriate, including high school completion programs, basic and remedial education, and ESL instruction.

Required Participation in Education Activities. The Family Support Act does not require any particular JOBS activities for participants, with only two major exceptions. Educational services must be provided to the following:

- Custodial parents under 20 who lack a high school diploma or equivalent. The state may require full-time attendance in high school completion activities regardless of the age of the child. The regulations state that participation in education can be satisfied by high school, alternative high school programs, or any high school equivalency program. The requirement cannot be met with literacy or ABE classes, unless they are part of the alternative high school program. There are limited options where a state may excuse the parent from school attendance or choose to require participation in employment and training instead.
- Those 20 and over who lack a high school diploma or equivalent. A diploma or equivalent is not required if they have achieved their long-term employment goal, as defined by the state, or an 8th-grade basic literacy level.

Participants in education programs are expected to make good or satisfactory progress as defined by the educational institution or program and approved by the state. While participants cannot be sanctioned for failure to make progress, sanctioning may result from failure to participate without good cause.

Related Provisions

1. Within a reasonable time before a person begins JOBS participation, the state must make an initial assessment of employability for the individual. The assessment is based on the individual's educational, child care, and other supportive needs; proficiencies, skills deficiencies, and prior work experience; family circumstances; and other relevant factors. The initial assessment may be conducted by various methods, such as interviews, testing, counseling, and self-assessment instruments. States may decide whether to include literacy and reading skills tests. The legislation does not prescribe the assessment methodologies to be used. Based on the assessment, the state must develop an employability plan specifying an employment goal for the participant and the activities that will be undertaken and the services provided.

2. If recipients are already involved in an education or training activity at the time, they would begin participation in JOBS. The state can approve that activity as JOBS participation. Self-initiated activities include higher education or vocational or technical training.

3. As with other JOBS participants, individuals participating in education programs (including self-initiated) are eligible for child care services, transportation, and other supportive services.

4. States must meet monthly participation rates or face reduced federal funding. The group of individuals counting toward the state's rate must be scheduled for an average participation of 20 hours a week.

NEW APPROACHES TO LITERACY

CHARACTERISTICS OF ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMS

(Sources: CSR, Inc., 1992; Development Associates, 1992, 1993, 1994; Gadsden, 1994; National Center for Family Literacy, 1993, n.d.; OTA, 1993; Staton, Ooms, & Owen, 1991; U.S. Department of Education, 1992, 1993)

Before reviewing the evidence on the effectiveness of literacy and basic education programs and discussing some of the challenges involved in linking them with welfare reform, we will briefly identify some of the key characteristics of adult education and some evolving new approaches that appear to be somewhat more successful.

The United States spends hundreds of millions of dollars each year on various adult education programs designed to increase adult literacy levels and promote family literacy among at-risk groups. As noted, there is substantial diversity in the sources of funds, the auspices and qualities of the programs, and the target populations served.

Because of the uncoordinated and confusing way that services are funded, administered, and provided, there is not a great deal of detailed information about the field of adult education. However, Development Associates, under a contract for the U.S. Department of Education, is conducting a two-part study of nearly 3,000 programs supported by the Basic State Grants section of the federal Adult Education Act and over 20,000 students participated in 1991-1992. The preliminary findings of this survey, called the National Evaluation of Adult Education Programs (NEAEP), sheds some light on the common features of these programs and of the students they serve. (Much of the data reported in this section is drawn from their two interim reports. A final report is expected in summer 1994.)

NUMBERS OF PARTICIPANTS

According to the NEAEP, approximately 1.8 million new clients enroll in these programs each year and an estimated 1.9 to 2.4 million individuals received over 12 hours of instruction each over a year's time. In a separate survey, however, the Department of Education reported that 3.7 million individuals were served during the 1990-1991 program year. According to the Department of Education, the potential target population for adult education programs (age 16 and over, lacking high school diploma, and out of school) numbered 45.4 million in 1990 (U.S. Department of Education, 1993). Adult education programs, however, serve less than 10% of the population estimated to be in need (approximately 3.7 million).

CLIENT CHARACTERISTICS

Most of those who participate in adult education do so voluntarily. In the Development Associates survey, only 12% of new clients reported that their participation was required, either by their employer or for welfare eligibility. The typical client is employed, not on welfare, has completed two years of high school, and is a high school dropout. Between 25 and 31% (depending on type of sponsor) of clients are on welfare. Thirty-six percent of clients in ABE/ASE received public assistance or welfare payments in the 12 months prior to adult education enrollment compared to 14% of the ESL population.

FUNDING

Estimates of funding for literacy programs are equally hard to establish. There are many different public and private sources of funding and frequently basic education and literacy services may not be broken out from broader funding categories. Public funding is by far the largest source of support, and federal spending on literacy programs has grown significantly in recent years. One estimate suggests that in 1990 federal support was around $140.6 million, while state and local support was four times that amount, around $567 million (reported in Koloski, 1993).

COSTS

Generally, basic education programs incur modest costs, but they vary substantially by setting and provider type. For example, one recent study estimated that GED and adult basic education programs offered as an integral part of a multifocus, JOBS-type program averaged $400 per person per month of service; GED classes at community colleges averaged $250 per month of service; a 24-class ESL program costs an average of $154 per participant; and basic education combined with work experience costs an average of about $650 per participant per month (Hershey & Silverberg, 1993).

SPONSORS

While program sponsors are quite diverse, most were local education agencies (68%). Other program sponsors include community colleges (17%), volunteer organizations and community service groups (6%), and technical institutes (6%). Most of the programs (77.2%) served fewer than 500 clients. Although most clients (78.3%) are served by programs located in urban areas, over half (54%) of the programs are located in rural areas.

Instructional and related services were provided by adult education programs at nearly 25,000 sites across the country. Programs provided services at a single site (23.7%) most often, or at two to three sites (21.7%). On average, programs offered services at 3.4 locations and used 2.7 different kinds of sites.

SCHEDULE AND INTAKE

Generally, GED and ABE programs are designed to be relatively short term—six months to a year. However, there is often a bimodal distribution of participation spells, with some entering the programs for brief "brushups" of their skills to enable them to move on to the GED test and others entering with significant skills deficiencies that require a relatively long time to address.

At most programs, services for new clients may begin at any time throughout the year. Classes are typically held for a little over ten months per year, with clients attending for about 5-12 hours per week. Most clients receive instruction in the evening (54%) and only two to four times a week (72%).

Most ABE and ASE programs (nearly 85%) assess clients at intake and measure progress by using standardized tests. ESL programs do it less often (60%). Two thirds of the programs use the Tests of Adult Basic Education (TABE).

INSTRUCTORS

Most programs rely heavily on volunteers and part-time instructors and tutors. Around three quarters of the programs use volunteers, primarily as tutors. Over 80% of adult education instructors work part time. The majority of instructors have teaching certificates, 86% of the full-time staff and 88% of the part-time staff. However, only 18% and 8% respectively are certified specifically in adult education.

IN-SERVICE TRAINING

Development Associates used three indicators to determine if a program was making an effort to increase staff professionalism. Of the 2,819 programs, only 32% were considered to meet the professional standards. However, these programs are estimated to serve approximately 70% of all clients. Although in-service training was provided to most (85%) of the instructors, there is no data on how extensive or effective this training is.

EFFECTIVENESS

We know very little about the effectiveness of different literacy programs. As indicated by Venezky (1992), among others, the literacy field has not yet been able to specify or assess clear measures of successful performance. Clearly, the quality of much of the instruction (provided by part-time, largely untrained, low-paid or volunteer staff) is inconsistent, and the results are often quite poor. Program administrators and staff are given no financial incentives to help them focus their efforts on successful outcomes.

The extent to which literacy programs increase basic skills is not well documented. However, we do know that there are major concerns about student recruitment, retention, and completion. Adult education programs experience high rates of drop out. In the Development Associates study, about 36% of all adult education students dropped out within the first 12 hours of instruction. Only 20% received at least 100 hours of instruction. A large number of registrants (16%) never even began class. About 15% of clients who began instruction dropped out within their first month.

In a measure of persistence (i.e., those receiving 96 hours of instruction or more), 39% of those receiving public assistance were persistent compared to 25% who received no public assistance in the 12 months prior to enrollment. Using support services and enrolling in day classes is associated with higher levels of persistence.

There is also little evidence of the benefits of literacy programs in promoting increased access to jobs and improvements in the quality of jobs for those who become employed. In fact, as will be discussed below, programs that focus primarily on literacy, as opposed to job placement or job training, generally have not led to increases in employment rates and/or earnings.

In response to changing literacy needs in the workplace and society as a whole, new, more integrated approaches to literacy and job training are evolving. These new approaches are based on the conviction that it is more effective to teach basic literacy skills in a functional context— such as a specific occupational, work, or family setting. The following section briefly describes some new program models that are gaining national recognition and increased federal support. A few programs using these approaches have been carefully evaluated and have shown remarkable rates of success.

INTEGRATING LITERACY AND JOB SKILLS (LITERACY INSTRUCTION IN CONTEXT)

(Sources: Beck, 1992; Burghardt & Gordon, 1990; Sticht, in press; Sticht & Lancaster, n.d.; Zambroswki & Gordon, 1993)

Many job training programs, including many JOBS and JTPA programs, operate under the belief that literacy skills must first reach a certain level (usually the 8th grade) before one can benefit from vocational and occupational skills training. This involves a sequential approach where literacy must be attained before it can be applied; adult basic education must precede job training. In a parallel fashion, most adult education programs use a traditional, classroom-based approach, building mastery of specific literacy skills isolated from the participants' life settings and responsibilities.

An increasing number of programs are trying a different approach to basic education and skills training in an attempt to improve literacy instruction, knowledge retention, and students motivation to learn and stay in the program. By integrating basic skills training with functionally meaningful content, people acquire basic skills and at the same time apply them in a useful way. This is sometimes known as the functional context approach. Reading and mathematics skills can be acquired while they are being applied to learn valuable content knowledge in real life applications. An example of this would be a training program for office equipment repair that uses a repair manual for literacy instruction. This approach is also used in family literacy programs to enhance literacy instruction for parents who want to be able to teach their children how to read or who want to improve their parenting skills.

FUNCTIONAL CONTEXT APPROACH: CENTER FOR EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING

One of the best known programs to develop, refine, and test the functional context model in a number of sites is the Center for Employment and Training (CET) in San Jose, California (see p. A–i). Training is provided using a functional context approach that closely simulates the job setting and integrates basic skills education and job skills training. No standardized tests are given to applicants for job training. Instead, there is an initial assessment week during which students visit the different training programs, receive vocational counseling on work conditions and pay in various jobs, and evaluate the training program they decide to enter. During this time, instructors and counselors observe students and their use of English, as well as the reading, writing, and math skills they will need for the job and training. The students also use this time to analyze their own basic skills needs. The instructors and counselors then meet with each student and come to an understanding of the student's need to strengthen his/her basic skills.

CET is an open-entry/open-exit program with self-paced instruction. Progress is assessed through the successful performance of specified tasks or competencies. These tasks may involve achieving a practical outcome (such as constructing a circuit board or making pastries) through the use of job knowledge and technical and other basic skills. Students can remain in the training for as long as it takes to master these skills. Students are in training for about six hours a day, five days a week, and some students may spend an extra two hours a day in ESL classes. Training averages around six months in duration, with those needing ESL or additional basic education averaging an additional three to six weeks.

A variety of support services are also provided, including child care, financial assistance, and vocational, career, and personal counseling. The CET headquarters in San Jose has a Montessori child care center on site. This center is also used for training CET students in a child development program and for a Montessori teacher training program. Each CET also provides extensive job development and placement services. Careful attention is paid to ensuring that training is designed for jobs that are in demand in the community. As of 1992, CET had trained and found employment that pays livable wages for over 53,000 people.

CET is best known for its participation in the Rockefeller Foundation's Minority Female Single Parent Project (MFSP). In this experimental study of four comprehensive employment training programs for low-income minority single mothers, CET was the only program to make large, positive impacts on employment and earnings and to have those impacts sustained over five years. It is heralded as one of the few success stories in employment training (see p. 34).

CET was also the only successful site out of 13 in JOBSTART, the federally funded employment and training project targeted on youth who had dropped out of school (Cave, Bos, Doolittle, & Toussaint, 1993). The project, although nonresidential, was modeled on the successful but very expensive Job Corps program. JOBSTART was evaluated by the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation.

COSTS OF THE CET MODEL

In the MFSP demonstration, an attempt was made to calculate the costs of the CET's integrated program, which were similar to costs of the other three sites. The average costs per enrollee in these projects ranged from approximately $2,700 to $4,800 for the 1985-86 program year. Clearly these projects were more expensive than programs that only offered short-term job-search assistance and community work experience and have cost from under $200 to about $1,000 per enrollee. However, the costs of the child care and support services accounted for between a third and a half of program costs, while the education and training costs were less than a third (Burghardt & Gordon, 1990). The five-year follow-up study of the impacts of the CET MFSP project estimated that the ratio of benefits to costs of the

CET program was $1.23. In other words, the return on one dollar spent by society on the CET program is $1.23 (Zambrowski & Gordon, 1993).

FUNCTIONAL CONTEXT APPLICATIONS

The rigorous MFSP evaluation provided evidence of the success of the CET site in terms of participant outcomes, but could not identify which were the essential aspects of the program that accounted for its success. Were there components and characteristics of the CET model that could be replicated in other settings? Or was its success attributable to the particular charisma or leadership of the key personnel, or of the community setting which could not be easily measured or replicated elsewhere? Three questions are important here:

- Can the CET model can be implemented by others in other communities?
- If replication is feasible, will the replications have the same success in terms of increased employment and income?
- If the answers to the above question are positive, how can these replications be implemented on a wide scale, that is, institutionalized into the basic education and job training programs across the nation?

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR CET REPLICATION

Based on CET's track record of success, the Department of Labor contracted with CET in 1992 to provide training and technical assistance to ten organizations wanting to operate CET-Model training programs. This is a nonmonetary award that covers the cost of CET's services and the travel required of CET staff and service providers. Start-up and operating costs are the responsibility of the selected service providers. This project is being funding to provide a technical assistance capacity within the JTPA system, determine the barriers to implementing CET-Model programs under JTPA, and highlight the aspects of the model that are most beneficial for JTPA participants.

Technical assistance training for the ten organizations in the eight states that were selected began in early 1993 and will continue through June 1994. A process evaluation of this part of the project is being conducted by Mathematica Policy Research, Inc. It was recently announced that an additional seven sites will be selected to receive training and technical assistance. Training will be provided from August to December 1994.

WIDER OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN, LITERACY IN CONTEXT

A second initiative is the Literacy in Context Project conducted by the nonprofit national organization Wider Opportunities for Women (WOW) (see p. B–iv). The project is designed to help the WOW network of employment and training programs shift their emphasis from traditional sequential training to incorporate the functional literacy approach through providing the programs with technical assistance and training (see Beck, 1992; Sticht & Lancaster, n.d.). Fourteen organizations are involved and each is making separate plans for evaluating this activity. WOW has conducted an overall evaluation examining the different site strategies and outcomes, and this report will be published in the summer of 1994. A major emphasis of the WOW network is to train women for jobs that will lead to economic self-sufficiency.

While these two initiatives will provide important lessons about the feasibility of replicating the functional context model, regrettably no study is currently being conducted to examine the second question—whether applications of the functional context model conducted under other auspices will achieve rates of success comparable with the original CET site. Until such a study is done, it seems premature to discuss the complex challenges of institutionalizing the model on a broad scale. However, some adaptations of key elements of this new approach are already filtering into the design and curricula of existing basic education and job training programs.

WORKPLACE LITERACY

Another new approach to basic education and literacy training that is rapidly gaining ground focuses on improving the literacy of adults directly in their place of employment. As the NALS report and other studies have amply documented, large numbers of American workers have skills that are no longer adequate for the advancing technology that businesses are using to remain competitive in the international market place. As a result, thousands of workplace literacy programs of all types are being created, most without federal assistance. Most workplace literacy programs involve partnerships of business, labor unions, schools, private industry councils, and government agencies.

By definition, workplace literacy programs serve the employed and would seem to have little effect on the welfare population. However, there is some potential for giving businesses incentives to hire and train welfare recipients. Furthermore, much can be learned from the functional context approach used in many of these programs.

In 1988, the primary federal initiative to improve basic skills in the workplace, the National Workplace Literacy Program, was established with an appropriation of $9.5 million. The main purpose of the program is to provide grants for projects designed to improve the productivity of the workforce through improvement of the literacy skills needed in the workplace. The program grants are made to partnerships that include at least one education organization and one other organization. Most education partners have been community colleges and many are local school districts. Most often, the business partners are from the manufacturing and hospital/health care industries. Labor unions have been involved in about a quarter of the partnerships (U.S. Department of Education, 1992).

An important distinction is drawn between academic basic skills education (like that provided under the Adult Education Act) and workplace basic skills training. Similar to the CET model, instruction is placed in the context of the job and the learners are able to draw on past experiences and immediately use new knowledge. Effective workplace literacy curriculum is designed around active information seeking and processing that use job-related basic skills.

TWO-GENERATION, FAMILY LITERACY PROGRAMS

(Sources: Abt Associates, 1993; Gadsden, 1994; National Center for Family Literacy, n.d.; O'Brien, 1991; Sticht & Lancaster, n.d.; Van Fossen & Sticht, 1991)

Historically, the nation's literacy problems have been addressed through two separate systems of public and private sector programs that focus on improving the literacy or education of adults or children (through early intervention efforts such as Head Start and Chapter 1). A new wave of literacy programs that have emerged over the last decade focus on the family as the unit of intervention. These so-called "two-generation programs" aim to increase the school readiness and subsequent school performance of today's children at the same time as they increase the literacy and employment potential of their parents. These parallel trends in program goals and design have joined and led to a new subfield of literacy that is now called family literacy.

A major benefit of this approach is that if it proves to achieve the hoped-for literacy gains for both children and their parents, it should help reduce the proportion of future generations who fail or do poorly in school and, thus, break the intergenerational transmission of poverty.

Numerous studies have emphasized the important role that parents and other family members play in teaching children basic literacy skills and in supporting and reinforcing their achievement in school. In addition, children whose parents are poor and uneducated tend to grow up themselves to be poor and uneducated. The interaction between maternal education and children's school achievement is especially central to discussions about African-American families with children (Gadsden, 1994).

Family literacy and intergenerational approaches to literacy training are somewhat different from each other. Family literacy programs focus on strengthening literacy practices within the family household (both children and their parents, or other caretakers in the home, which may include grandparents). Intergenerational literacy programs, on the other hand, involve participants spanning two or more generations, which may include parents, other caretakers or family neighbors, and/or adult volunteers. (Intergenerational literacy is usually considered a more overarching term since family is intergenerational. However, "intergenerational" in these programs does not necessarily mean a family.) Some family literacy programs include intergenerational approaches within their program.

Intergenerational programs include these basic components: (a) programs focused on adults, but involving children to a lesser extent; (b) programs focused on children but involving adults (parents or others) to a lesser extent; and (c) programs focused on promoting adults and children learning together. However, some programs offer only one of the components and other programs combine all of the components at different parts of the day or week.

Family and intergenerational approaches to literacy have also been used with multilingual families. Because experience has shown than nonnative, English-speaking parents are rarely in a position to know more English than their children, and thus to read to them in their newly developing language, some of these programs have children reading to their parents. Other programs aim to foster a love of literature through a variety of activities such as storytelling in the native language and in English, with discussions taking place in the native language and in English.

Hundreds of programs across the country now identify themselves as family literacy or intergenerational programs. No one model predominates. The programs are highly diverse. Although the historical origins of each are different, family literacy programs share many of the same goals and basic assumptions as parent education and family resource and support programs. Indeed, distinctions between them are rapidly disappearing (see Staton et al., 1991). The field is still in its infancy and, for the most part, program models still need to be rigorously developed, tested, and evaluated.

Currently, the majority of family literacy programs emphasize reaching families with young children so that children entering school and parents begin to experience educational success together. However, some programs are now beginning to emphasize working with families with somewhat older children. Family literacy programs include some or all of these necessary components:

- early childhood education,
- parent literacy training,
- parent peer-to-peer time (adult group support), and
- parent-and-child-together time.

Not all family literacy programs believe that it is necessary to directly involve the child in order to have a beneficial impact on the child. In 1990, Wider Opportunities for Women (WOW) conducted a study of nine adult literacy programs that did not involve children and, therefore, had no intention of directly affecting children. The study was called, Teach the Mother and Reach the Child. Results of these programs indicated than more than 65% of the 463 participants' children showed at least one gain in educational attitude or performance and a majority of the mothers made some positive gains in literacy-promoting behaviors. The results held true across the diverse ethnic groups and various-aged children. As a result of this study, WOW developed a monograph with a brief overview of intergenerational and family literacy and suggestions to enhance basic literacy programs' potential to become two-generation models that include both mothers and their children (Van Fossen & Sticht, 1991).

This study and many others suggest that we do not yet begin to understand what are the essential components of family literacy programs that appear to lead to good outcomes. Some doubt whether the parent's direct teaching and interaction with the child is as critical as the parent demonstrating in various ways (by her own example) that learning new skills is important and can be fun and rewarding.

The federal government is becoming increasingly supportive of these family-based approaches. The Departments of Education and Health and Human Services have funded the Even Start program, the Family English Literacy Program, and the Head Start Family Literacy Initiatives. We include below a brief description of these federally funded family literacy efforts and of program initiatives at the state level and in the private sector, many of which predated the federal programs.

EVEN START

The Even Start Family Literacy Program was authorized by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, as amended by the Hawkins-Stafford Elementary and Secondary School Improvement Amendments of 1988, Part B of Chapter 1 of Title I. (P.L. 100-297). In 1991, Congress passed the National Literacy Act (P.L. 102-73), which amended Even Start.

Even Start is administered by the Office of Elementary and Secondary Education, Department of Education. Funds are provided to state education agencies (SEAs), which award grants to local education agencies (LEAs) to implement family-oriented literacy programs.

To be eligible for Even Start, a family must have an adult who is eligible for adult basic education programs and is a parent of a child less than eight years of age who lives in a Chapter 1 elementary school attendance area.

The goals of the Even Start programs are to help parents become full partners in the education of their children, assist children in reaching their full potential as learners, and provide literacy training for participating parents. The following core set of services are provided by all programs:

- adult basic education services, such as ABE, ESL, and GED preparation, designed to improve basic educational skills, particularly literacy skills;
- parent education/child development services, which are designed to enhance parent-child relationships and help parents understand and support their child's growth and development; and
- early childhood education services designed to enhance development and prepare children for success in school.

In addition to these core services, Even Start projects provide a range of support services to participant families, such as transportation, child care, health care, nutrition assistance, mental health referral, referrals for employment, and counseling.

Even Start funds may not be used for services already provided in the community. These programs are required to coordinate with and use the services of programs under Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Adult Education Act, the Individuals with Disabilities Act, the Job Training Partnership Act, Head Start, and volunteer literacy programs.

HEAD START FAMILY LITERACY INITIATIVE

Head Start has long recognized the importance of supporting parents' efforts to attain self-sufficiency and to be their child's first teacher. As a result, the Administration on Children, Youth, and Families (ACYF) has launched several initiatives to provide technical assistance and supplementary demonstration funds for Head Start grantees to develop strategies to deal with pervasive problems affecting families that they serve. As many of the Head Start families are functionally illiterate, which affects both the family's level of self-sufficiency as well as parents' ability to prepare their children to succeed in school, it became crucial for Head Start to invest substantially in developing strategies and services to confront the problems of illiteracy and lack of employment skills in the families enrolled in the program. The following are some of the activities included in the Head Start Family Literacy Initiative:

- Since 1990, ACYF and the Head Start Bureau have awarded special grants to Head Start grantees to develop family service centers to reduce and prevent the incidence of substance abuse in Head Start families, improve the literacy of parents and other adults in Head Start families, and increase the employability of parents.
- In 1991, ACYF launched the Head Start Family Literacy Initiative, which made $9 million available to all grantees to expand and improve family literacy services. The initiative focused on providing families with access to literacy materials, supporting parents and teachers, and supporting parents as adult learners. Grantees were funded for up to $3,500 for the duration of their grants, but these literacy funds later became a permanent item on their budgets. Thereafter, every grantee has had to describe in its application how the program will address the literacy training needs of the adult population. As a result, numerous local innovations grew from the grassroots activities of individual Head Start programs.
- In 1991, ACYF published the monograph, *Promoting Family Literacy Through Head Start* (O'Brien, 1991), which provides an overview of the problem of intergenerational illiteracy, a rationale for Head Start involvement in promoting family literacy, and suggestions for incorporating family literacy promotion into basic Head Start components.
- A nationwide survey was initiated in FY 1992 to obtain information on the efforts and strategies implemented and barriers confronted by Head Start to address the ACYF priority areas impacting on the family's self-sufficiency: substance abuse, illiteracy, and lack of employment skills. The results of this survey will be available in winter, 1994. (Contact Jim DeSantis, CSR, Incorporated, (202) 842-7600.)
- ACYF funded the evaluation of the Head Start Family Service Centers (FSCs). This evaluation, which will be

ready sometime in 1996, will describe the process of implementing the FSCs and determine whether the families who participate in these programs are more likely to address the problems of low literacy (as well as substance abuse and employability) and, as a result, experience long-lasting benefits similar to benefits experienced by families who attend a "regular" Head Start program. (Contact: Jean Lazyer, Abt Associates, (617) 492-7100.)

- In 1993, the Head Start Bureau signed an interagency agreement with the Center for the Book, Library of Congress, to provide technical assistance and encourage grantees to use the state library systems to promote literacy in adults and children. To date there have been three regional conferences, to provide technical assistance in the implementation of this agreement.

In addition to these two federally funded family literacy initiatives, several states and private organizations have conducted family literacy initiatives, many of which predate the federal programs. The following is a brief list of several of the best-known, nonfederal family literacy programs.

PARENT AND CHILD EDUCATION PROGRAM (PACE)

PACE, a family support program that emphasizes family literacy, was initially established in 1986 by the Kentucky legislature as a two-year pilot program in 6 school districts. The program was founded in response to the shortage of skilled labor in the state, the result of Kentucky's school dropout rate, the second highest in the nation. In 1991, the program expanded and was operating in 32 school districts. PACE can be considered a major impetus for the recent growth in family literacy programs, as many programs are modeled after it.

Program eligibility is restricted to parents without a high school diploma or equivalency certificate who have a 3-4 year-old child. The children participate in activities based on the High/Scope Educational Foundation developmental model. There is basic adult education and GED tutoring for the parents, joint parent/child activities with an emphasis on how children learn, and support groups for parents related to building self-esteem and competence. The parents participate for the equivalent of three full days (20 hours) a week. Most parents are not employed. Nearly all parents in the program are mothers, although it is open to fathers. A few participants are grandparents.

THE KENAN MODEL OF FAMILY LITERACY

The Kenan Trust Family Literacy Program was created in 1988 to establish model family literacy programs at seven sites in Kentucky and North Carolina. The programs were based on the PACE model but were slightly modified by increasing the amount of time parents and children spent together, requiring parents to volunteer at schools, extending teacher training, and including a career education component in the adult literacy classes. In the Kenan model, undereducated parents and their preschool children attend school together three days a week for an entire school year.

There are four main components of the program: early childhood education, parent literacy training, parent education and support, and parent and child interaction. The National Center for Family Literacy is the organization that has promoted the Kenan approach in many sites across the nation (see p. B–iii).

THE HOME INSTRUCTION PROGRAM FOR PRESCHOOL YOUNGSTERS (HIPPY)

The Home Instruction Program for Preschool Youngsters is a program originally developed and tested in Israel with disadvantaged children and their families by the National Council of Jewish Women in Israel. The first HIPPY programs began in the United States in 1984 and as of 1991 there were 58 programs operating in 16 states. The program consists of a curriculum of home-teaching designed to help low-literate parents with the necessary structure to implement a school-readiness, home instruction program. Paraprofessionals visit each parent at home every other week. In alternative weeks, parents meet with other parents in a group setting to review their progress and learn about available adult education programs and other parent services.

HIPPY USA supplies training and technical assistance to the national network of local HIPPY programs in the United States. The role of the national office includes developing program curricula, disseminating information, coordinating research and evaluation, and developing regional capacity for training and technical assistance. In Arkansas, the Better Chance Act, 1991, provided state funding to 33 HIPPY programs across the state.

SER FAMILY LEARNING CENTERS, DALLAS, TEXAS

This Dallas-based national literacy training program targets Spanish-speaking, first-generation families. In 1986, SER established a network of family learning centers. As of 1994, there were centers at 45 sites in 14 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. Each center tailors its program to the needs of its community, but many of the centers share three basic features.

- Literacy Councils bring together educators, parents, and employers to plan education with business needs in mind.
- SER-Care combines education and day care for children while the parents receive basic skills instruction. Teachers are assisted by senior citizens, grandparents, and other volunteers from the community.
- Basic and job skills training is provided to parents and includes ESL, cultural literacy, and parenting skills.

The centers feature a strong family focus and provide services to all members of the family affected by illiteracy. Some hold meetings for parents of high school students who are at risk of dropping out. The program's success rests on a large cadre of Hispanic volunteers who recruit other parents and overcome traditional reluctance to get involved in schools or education.

The centers rely on both public and private funding. Many receive funding from Private Industry Councils and are JTPA contractors.

FAMILY ENGLISH LITERACY PROGRAMS (FELP)

FELP, a discretionary grants program administered by the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Affairs in the Department of Education, is designed to assist limited-English-proficient adults and out-of-school youth to become competent in the English language and provide instruction on how parents and family members can facilitate their children's educational achievement.

The program received $6.3 million in FY 1993 and funded 48 projects in 14 states and Guam. There are many different types of sponsoring agencies: 35 local education agencies, 7 nonprofit organizations, and 6 institutes of higher education. Projects, which may serve several sites, provide English literacy instruction, native language literacy, parent education, parent/child activities, and preemployment skills.

LESSONS LEARNED FROM FIELD DEMONSTRATIONS

Over the past 20 years, we have experimented with numerous programs and policies aimed at promoting improved basic skills and the employability of disadvantaged adults. These include the Job Training Partnership Act and its predecessor, the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, as well as the recent Job Opportunities and Basic Skills Training (JOBS) program implemented as part of the Family Support Act of 1988. They also include numerous state and local community-based efforts—for example, family literacy initiatives and community adult basic education programs, some with, and others without, strong employment preparedness and placement components. There are many traditional employment preparation programs with varying degrees of emphasis on basic skills development that are sponsored by community-based organizations.

We begin by highlighting some of the major conclusions of this body of evaluation research. We then review the results of some of the best demonstration programs that have provided basic education and training to welfare recipients, as well as the evidence for these conclusions.

Several important lessons have emerged from 20 years of experimentation with a wide range of programs aimed at improving the basic skills and employment potential of disadvantaged populations, the majority of whom have low basic skills.

- At the most basic level, adult literacy programs have experienced significant problems attracting and retaining participants. In large part, this seems to be due to the impatience of adults with the traditional instructional techniques applied in adult education courses (Bloom, Kopp, Long, & Polit, 1991; Burghardt & Gordon, 1990; Hershey & Rangarajan, 1993; Martinson & Friedlander, 1994; Popp, 1991; Quin, Pawasarat, & Roehrig, 1991; Quint et al., 1991; Van Fossen & Sticht, 1991). In particular, many low-skilled adults fail to see the relevance of classroom instruction and textbook learning to their primary goal of getting a job and getting off welfare (Burghardt & Gordon, 1990; Hershey & Rangarajan, 1993; Wikelund, 1993).

- It is extremely difficult to achieve substantial and long-lasting gains in measured basic skills through traditional adult education programs. The research on these initiatives presents a disappointing message in terms of the effectiveness of literacy, job training, and education programs in remedying and/or compensating for the basic skills deficiencies of many young adults.
- Increasing basic skills or skills credentials of those at the bottom of the employability queue will likely have a small impact on employment and earnings at best. Overall, there is a dearth of evidence tying these efforts to dramatic positive changes in either measured skills of individuals or to longer term objectives or to promoting greater labor market success. As these programs are currently configured, there is little direct connection between participation in them and observable steps toward self-sufficiency among welfare recipients.
- However, there is encouraging evidence from the San Jose site of the Minority Female Single Parent Demonstration program and from the Teenage Parent Demonstration that when the basic skills instruction is integrated with occupational training or is otherwise clearly linked to a work experience and when the program is specifically tailored to the needs of young welfare mothers, participants are more motivated to complete the instruction and do achieve sizable gains in employment and earnings in future years.
- The studies demonstrate that basic education and literacy services remain a very important component of welfare reform, but they clearly need to be fundamentally redesigned.

The following summary of the findings of several key demonstrations provides the research evidence for these conclusions.

THE MINORITY FEMALE SINGLE PARENT DEMONSTRATION

In the mid-1980s, the Rockefeller Foundation undertook a major program initiative aimed at improving the basic skills and job skills of a particularly needy population—minority female single parents. They challenged community-based organizations to develop and operate comprehensive programs aimed at increasing the basic skills of these young women at the same time as they addressed their myriad social and economic needs. The ultimate objective of the initiatives was to place the women in stable jobs paying at least 50% more than the minimum wage.

Of the six programs funded by the Foundation, two were unable to develop programs that would retain the interest and support of the target population. Of the remaining four, three offered extensive on-site basic education services as the first step in preparing these women for the work force. Job training was reserved for those who progressed to a minimum basic skills level (typically a 10th-grade reading level). All found recruitment a challenge and retention a major problem. Moreover, none of the programs led to significant long-term increases in the employment and earnings of the young mothers, despite the fact that they indeed delivered substantial basic education services.

The fourth program, implemented by the Center of Employment Training in San Jose, California, took a quite different approach to skills development and job preparation of its target population. Specifically, it focused first and foremost on job training. There were no basic skills requirements for entrance into job training. However, trainees were required to participate in specified basic skills classes concurrent with their job training in order to pick up those reading and math skills that were central to their vocational goal.

This program experienced much greater success in recruiting and retaining participants. But, more importantly, it enjoyed significant success in terms of promoting sizable employment and earnings gains among participants—gains that persisted at least five years after coming into the training program (Burghardt & Gordon, 1990).

THE TEENAGE PARENT DEMONSTRATION

The Teenage Parent Demonstration was a large-scale, federally funded welfare reform demonstration of considerable significance because it field tested many of the proposed welfare reform options actively under consideration by the Clinton Administration—early intervention, universal coverage, mandated participation with significant sanctions, and extensive case management and support services. The demonstration operated for four years, serving all teenage parents newly dependent on welfare in the cities of Camden and Newark, New Jersey, and a large area on the south side of Chicago.

Participation was mandatory: Young mothers (up to age 20) on AFDC were required to participate in some activity pursuant to employment and economic self-sufficiency as a condition of their AFDC eligibility. JOBS-type programs were established to provide these young mothers with case management and an array of services to facilitate their compliance with this participation requirement. As a group, the participants were young and had substantial educational deficits. About 30% had dropped out before completing high school, and most of those in school were behind grade level.

This intervention succeeded in promoting greater participation in education—increasing the percentage of time the young mothers were in school by as much as 76% at one site and as little as 25% at another. These gains are in the context of average participation rates of 25-32% of the population. The increased participation in school led to small, but statistically significant increases in completion of high school or attainment of a GED diploma (by 3 to 4 percentage points), but to no measurable impacts on basic skills.

The program also led to modest increases in employment and earnings. However, it is more likely these were due to the job placement assistance and the activity requirements of the program than to the educational services.

Like the Minority Female Single Parent Demonstration, these programs found it challenging to convince the young mothers to return to school—either public schools or community adult education programs. The programs used a combination of existing and new educational programs. Existing GED and ABE programs were provided by community colleges and adult schools operated by local school districts. However, the young mothers often felt uncomfortable in classes with older adults, and teachers accustomed to serving a broader adult population tended to be insensitive to the problems faced by teenage parents (Maynard et al., 1993).

In-house classes were somewhat more successful, as they facilitated communication between the participants, case managers, and instructors. The sites tended to be most successful in promoting participation and program retention when they either connected the education with a work experience and/or developed tailored educational programs exclusively or primarily for this target population (Hershey & Rangarajan, 1993; Maynard et al., 1993).

There are two important, unanswered questions arising from this study. The first is whether the program impacts will translate into longer term increases in self-sufficiency. This question is being addressed through a longer term follow-up of the study sample and their children. The second unanswered question is how much improvement in outcomes could be achieved if programs were able to address some of the shortcomings identified in the programs.

CALIFORNIA'S GREATER AVENUES FOR INDEPENDENCE PROGRAM (GAIN)

The California GAIN program—a precursor to the federal JOBS program—mandated that welfare recipients engage in appropriate employment-related activities. Moreover, the GAIN legislation established the program as a human capital investment model of service delivery. As implemented, this meant that welfare recipients who had not completed high school or attained a GED diploma or those who had low-measured basic skills would be referred to basic education services prior to entering job training or placement assistance. Indeed, 65% of those served by GAIN during a multiyear study period were determined by these criteria to be in need of basic education services (Martinson & Friedlander, 1994).

Of those determined to need basic education, 41% actually participated in education services. (Of those not participating, 23% were deferred, 16% left welfare, 9% were referred to job search activities, and 4% entered an approved, self-initiated alternative activity within 11 months. The remaining 8% fell through the cracks.) The discouraging fact is that only 8% completed their GED program within 11 months and another 8% were still enrolled—giving a maximum expected completion rate of 16% of those judged to be in need. Moreover, the impacts of the educational services seem highly questionable. There was a 7 percentage point increase in attainment of the GED diploma or a high school diploma within two to three years after referral to GAIN (up from a 2% attainment rate that would have been experienced in the absence of GAIN). However, the pattern of degree attainment across sites mirrors neither the pattern of measured skills gains nor of employment and earnings gains. San Diego, the only site with significant gains in both school completion and Tests of Applied Literacy Skills (TALS) scores witnessed no earnings gains (see Table 1 in Appendix C).

THE JOB TRAINING PARTNERSHIP ACT (JTPA)

JTPA is the major source of employment and training services for disadvantaged youth and adults. Half of the adult women served by JTPA are AFDC recipients, and 30% are long-term recipients (Bloom, Orr, Cave, Bell, & Doolittle, 1993). However, few of the adult participants (and less than 10% of the adult women) receive basic education as part of their JTPA services. Prompted by program performance criteria, JTPA tends to serve a relatively more job-ready segment of the welfare population. Indeed, only slightly higher proportions of the female JTPA participants have low basic skills than is the case for the population at large. For example, 10% of the women served by JTPA have prose proficiency scores below 226 (compared with 9% nationally) and 26% have scores between 226 and 275 (compared with 23% nationally) (Kirsch et al., 1993).

Like other programs, retention in education services is a major issue for women in AFDC. For example, one study indicates that while 21% of all AFDC recipients in JTPA drop out prior to a positive placement in a job or another employment and training activity, over one third of those assigned to basic education drop out of the program (Romero, 1994).

The national JTPA study was not able to generate separate estimates of the impacts of basic education due to the manner in which participants were assigned to and selected their service mixes. However, we can infer from the available evidence that the basic education services likely had, at best, relatively modest impacts.

Not only are the overall impacts of JTPA modest (a $300 average annual earnings gain), they are smaller than average (and not statistically significant) for those in the groups most likely to receive basic education—those not receiving on-the-job training or job search assistance (Bloom, Orr, Cave, Bell, Doolittle, & Lin, 1994). Evidence from one study suggests that the addition of basic education to the service bundle for AFDC recipients will either lower, or leave unaffected, the effectiveness of basic job search services (Romero, 1994). However, this study is limited by the fact that it necessarily relied on nonexperimental methods, substituting instead statistical modeling to deal with the inevitable self-selection of JTPA participants into various services.

LEARNFARE PROGRAMS

There have been several state-initiated programs that have sought to promote school completion by tying welfare benefits to school attendance of non-high school graduates. The two most widely known and researched are Wisconsin's Learnfare program and the Ohio LEAP program.

Wisconsin's program shows no measured gains in school completion for reasons that may relate to the manner in which the policy was implemented (Quinn et al., 1991). For the most part, there was little coordination between the welfare program and the schools, and there were limited new services to address the underlying reasons that youth were not meeting the attendance requirements.

Ohio's LEAP program offered varying degrees of support services to the teenage parents who were subject to the new school attendance policy. The policy did increase school attendance and GED diploma attainment, especially in those sites with case management support (Bloom, Fellerath, Long, & Wood, 1993). However, there is no evidence from either study documenting whether or not the policies led to measured gains in basic skills.

NEW CHANCE

The New Chance program was a multisite demonstration under the JOBS program targeted on teen mothers who were high school dropouts. It offered them intensive education and employment-related services together with case management, counseling, personal and child development classes, child care, and other services. However, unlike the Teenage Parent Demonstration, New Chance participants entered the program voluntarily. The demonstration is being evaluated by the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation. The education component was sequential in design, with the major emphasis being on completion of the GED program before moving into vocational training or college. Initial implementation reports suggested that there were problems with attendance, and it was not clear that those who did complete their GED program moved into employment.

The results of the impact study will be published in the summer of 1994. But the report of the findings of in-depth interviews with 50 of the program participants revealed multiple, interrelated personal, economic, and familial factors that greatly complicated and impeded the progress of these young mothers towards self-sufficiency (Quint, Musick, & Ladner, 1994).

PROJECT MATCH

These findings are echoed in a study of the progress towards self-sufficiency of a disadvantaged, low-skilled group of 700 welfare mothers living in a Chicago housing project and enrolled in a program called Project Match. The overarching finding of the eight-year study was that, for many, "leaving welfare is not an event (i.e., simply getting a job), but rather a long and difficult process that involves false starts, setbacks, and incremental gains" (Herr, Halpern, Woolley, & Majeske, 1993). The study's conclusion is that for this group of mothers, any welfare-to-work program needs to broaden the array of activities and benchmarks that count as steps towards self-sufficiency, be more flexible about the timetable and expected time commitments, and provide supportive counseling throughout what may be a protracted period of becoming stably attached to the workforce.

FAMILY LITERACY PROGRAMS

Gadsden (1994) notes that despite the appeal of enhancing young, poor parents' ability to assist with their children's education, the mechanisms to ensure the success of these efforts are only partially developed. She adds that research in family literacy is quite limited, few theoretical frameworks exist, and program impacts on families are still unknown. Studies of family literacy and support programs are largely descriptive. The Even Start program is being carefully evaluated by Abt Associates. While their interim report documents small but promising effects on adult levels of education and parenting skills, and an increase in literacy materials in the home, the study did not seek to measure impacts on parental employment or income (St. Pierre, Goodson, & Layzier, 1993).

An evaluation of the Kenan model of family literacy conducted by Philliber Associates, found similar positive outcomes for adult and child participants, but again the study did not measure program impact on levels of employment, income, or welfare dependency (National Center for Family Literacy, n.d.).

The overall conclusion from this review of research is that we need to take a hard look at the role of adult basic education programs in welfare reform, and employment and training. There is no doubt that welfare recipients need access to some basic education and training services. Without these services, many of them will not be able to find jobs or stay in jobs if they find them. And even if they do succeed in working, they are likely to find it very difficult to become economically self-sufficient. However, traditional literacy training and employment approaches have not been found to be effective with welfare recipients. We need to consider what kinds of federal and state policies can create the incentives needed for states and program administrators to redesign literacy efforts to be more effective with this population.

THE CHALLENGES OF CONNECTING THE ADULT EDUCATION AND WELFARE SYSTEMS

(Sources: Lurie & Hagen, 1993; Pauly, Long, & Martinson, 1992; Sherman & Houseman, 1989; U.S. GAO, 1991; William T. Grant Foundation Commission, 1989)

The framers of the Family Support Act envisioned a high degree of interagency planning and collaboration in the implementation of JOBS. They intended states and localities to tap into the existing employment training and education programs, provided by state and local agencies, for which JOBS participants would be eligible. In preparing the initial JOBS plan, states were required to consult and coordinate with the state education agency and state agencies responsible for JTPA, the Employment Service, the Adult Education Act, the Vocational Education Act, and early childhood programs, including Head Start.

Within the framework of the legislation and regulations, states have considerable flexibility in designing their JOBS program, such as determining who will be served and what type of activities and services will be emphasized and in what order. Still, early evidence suggests that states are moving toward more emphasis on basic education as intended by the 1988 legislation. A report by the U.S. GAO (1991) on the initial implementation activities of the states found that as of October 1990, almost half the states reported a shift from an emphasis on immediate job placement under their previous welfare-to-work programs toward a new emphasis on long-term education or training under

JOBS. Little data is available, however, on the amount of federal and state JOBS funds being spent on education. Additionally, many states are relying heavily on education and training services that are of no cost to the JOBS programs, such as those offered by the adult education system, public schools, and JTPA.

Under the Family Support Act, state welfare agencies—traditionally concerned with eligibility and benefit determinations and operating modest welfare-to-work programs—were given a major new responsibility. They must create new education and employment training programs targeted at long-term or potentially long-term AFDC recipients. To meet this challenge, state welfare departments needed to build partnerships for the first time with education agencies and job training programs, typically administered by labor/human resource departments. In 1989, several national organizations published reports emphasizing the challenges presented by these new partnerships and recognized that there were many barriers to effective coordination between the education and human service sectors (e.g., Sherman & Houseman, 1989; William T. Grant Foundation Commission, 1989).

Adult education programs have been traditionally designed for students who come to school voluntarily and are motivated to learn. However, under the JOBS program, while many students are volunteers, others are mandated to participate and may not wish to be there. Future welfare reform efforts are likely to increase the size of the mandated population. The education system will face the challenge of motivating these students, many of whom have already failed in the education system and have low achievement levels. Additionally, welfare/education students are also likely to have more personal, health, child care, and transportation problems, and lower self-esteem than other students, all of which can affect attendance and ability to concentrate in class.

While final evaluation reports on the JOBS program impact and implementation will not be complete for several years, some preliminary reports and studies by these organizations and others give a sense of the issues that confront states as they implement JOBS and will be summarized in the section below. For successful implementation of the education component, developing effective partnerships with the adult education system and JTPA is critical.

Koloski (1993), in a National Center on Adult Literacy (NCAL) technical report on effective service delivery in adult literacy programs, discusses seven major systemic problems inherent in making effective partnerships between the three major service delivery systems involved—Adult Education, JTPA, and JOBS—each with a different legislative and funding base and quite separate bureaucracies and service agencies. For example, she points out that all three major pieces of legislation underscore the need for basic literacy skills instruction, yet only the AEA provides an operational definition of literacy, and dedicates and accounts for funds spent on literacy activities.

Koloski (1993) makes a number of recommendations for amendments to the underlying legislation that would enhance the coordination and collaboration. These include clarifying the expected outcomes of literacy services and the meaning of self-sufficiency in JOBS; targeting increased federal support specifically on literacy services (which is not done in the JOBS legislation); coordinating and streamlining some of the eligibility and participation differences between the programs; and improving and integrating data management systems.

LESSONS FROM THE STATES

A study of five states' implementation of the JOBS education component (California, Florida, Ohio, Oklahoma, and Wisconsin) conducted by the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (MDRC) (Pauly et al., 1992) found that substantial differences between education and welfare agencies' priorities, missions, structures, governance, and operating procedures have caused many difficulties, at least initially. Education agencies have been slow to adapt their programs to serve the special needs of welfare adults and teen mothers whose lives are complicated by family responsibilities, child care needs, transportation problems, and, often, unstable housing arrangements. The following section summarizes some of these barriers and draws heavily on the findings of this study. (See p. A–i for a more detailed description of how three states—California, Ohio, and New Jersey—are currently implementing the education component of the JOBS program.)

DIFFERING PRIORITIES

Although the JOBS education program was a top priority for state and local welfare agencies, this was not the case for state and local education agencies that have multiple constituencies and generally give priority to serving their largest group of students. Additionally, education's institutional mission is to provide access to large numbers and diverse groups of people (rather than determining eligibility based on financial need) and on services that foster a broad range of goals for individuals' growth rather than focusing primarily on economic self-sufficiency.

GOVERNANCE STRUCTURE

Education is governed locally and the laws in most states do not give state education agencies the authority to require local education providers to offer particular services for welfare recipients. The local welfare agency's dealing with the educational system may be like dancing with an octopus. Education services are provided in a much more decentralized manner and local welfare agencies must connect with multiple providers, including community-based providers of adult education, community colleges, public schools, vocational/technical schools, and adult schools. In some cases, there may be more than one school district within the local welfare agency's jurisdiction (usually a county).

INSTITUTIONAL BARRIERS

The MDRC study found that education agencies were very willing to provide access to existing programs but that local welfare agencies often had to engage in considerable negotiations to surmount some of the institutional barriers and alter established practices of the education providers. For instance, some education providers were reluctant to provide GED classes in the morning instead of the traditional night school classes (the morning being more convenient for mothers who must get child care) or to provide classes in the summer. Also, local school systems are often inflexible with their policies so that welfare/education students re-enrolling in midyear cannot receive credit.

ATTENDANCE

Poor attendance in the education programs was a major problem for all the states that MDRC studied. Attendance problems result from a number of factors, including lack of interest in participating in traditional classroom programs, problems with child care and transportation, negative prior school experiences, and the poor quality of the programs. Some local education providers found that providing prompt follow-up to welfare students who did not attend school (through phone calls, home visits, and counseling) helped improve school attendance. The development of computerized record-keeping and attendance-monitoring procedures has been necessary to keep accurate account of participation, as required by JOBS and Learnfare programs. For local education providers that have not generally had to provide detailed information, this has proved burdensome.

In summary, from the education providers' perspective, they are being asked to serve a more "difficult" population than they are traditionally used to serving, expand their counseling and support services, often redesign curriculum, and, not least of all, engage in what they view as burdensome attendance record keeping and monitoring. Still, the study also found numerous examples where local education providers willingly and enthusiastically sought to enroll JOBS participants in their program and made appropriate adaptations, particularly if financial incentives were offered. The authors of the report concluded that unless welfare agencies take a leadership role in building the partnership between welfare and education programs, it is unlikely that education agencies will adapt or revise their programs to meet the needs of welfare recipients.

On the positive side, the authors of the study observed a great deal of new energy going into adult education for welfare recipients and identified a few ground breaking innovations in the collaborative role of the adult education and welfare systems (Pauly & Martinson, 1993). These included the following:

- Several different approaches to dealing with the attendance problem, including improved management systems and record keeping; creation of special staff positions within the school to counsel and deal with attendance problems and make home visits; and financial incentives for education providers to seek high attendance.
- Developing one-stop, single-site adult education programs that provide multiple services, including case management, child care, and job seeking.
- Developing new education curricula to include more life management, parenting, and specific employment-related skills, and material with a strong vocational focus.
- Outstationing welfare case managers in adult education sites to answer questions and reinforce attendance.

- Providing separate classrooms and special curriculum designed for welfare students, especially teenage mothers.

The conclusion seems to be that new welfare reform proposals need to emphasize and find ways to promote/encourage the states and localities to adopt these new, more integrated and family-focused approaches. But in the process, care, attention, and resources need to be focused on how to achieve the critical linkages between the different sectors needed to help implement these new approaches effectively.

IMPLICATIONS FOR WELFARE REFORM

(Sources: Administration Working Group on Welfare Reform, 1994, March; APWA, 1994, March, 1994, May; Greenberg, 1993, 1994)

Despite the fact that the MDRC evaluation of JOBS has not been completed and that JOBS has not been fully implemented, due largely to insufficient state resources, President Clinton raised the specter of another round of welfare reform during the 1992 presidential election when he pledged to "end welfare as we know it." Since then, President Clinton has established a working group on welfare reform and draft proposals have been circulated. Additionally, Republicans in the House and Senate moved quickly to introduce their own welfare reform bills (H.R. 3500 and S. 1795) last fall and early this session Democrats followed suit. A bipartisan bill, the Working Off Welfare Act (H.R. 4318) is also attracting some recent attention.

As the welfare reform debate has begun to heat up, many other proposals are being introduced. As with the deliberations prior to the passage of the Family Support Act, many of the proposals reflect a multipronged approach, including improving the child support enforcement system, expanding child care, and efforts to prevent teen pregnancy. The proposals have run the gamut from those that would eliminate JOBS, impose a mandatory work requirement, and disallow AFDC, food stamps, and public housing for all unwed mothers under 25 and their children, to those that triple funding for JOBS, expand support services such as child care, and require states to establish "one-stop shops" for services and benefits. Welfare reform is a moving target at this time, but the Administration's proposal and the two initial Republican bills seem to reflect the current mainstream thinking and will be the focus of the discussion below.

The Administration's proposal and the major Republican proposals are remarkable in that they share the notion of a two-year time limit—that is, AFDC cash assistance would only be provided for a transitional two-year period, during which the recipient would also be eligible for education and job training assistance. After that time (or even earlier), the recipient is expected to find work. For those unable to find a job, the state must provide them with a public sector job, a subsidized private sector job, or community work experience until they can find an unsubsidized private sector job. Some analysts are concerned that the emphasis on work and finding a job—any job—will discourage states from investing in education and training programs to promote real, long-term self sufficiency. Details of the Administration's proposal are not yet officially available, and there is some evidence that there will be some exceptions made to the two-year limit in appropriate cases.

COMMON FEATURES IN CURRENT PROPOSALS

Some of the key features of the proposals related to education and training are presented here and some of the issues they raise are discussed.

MANDATORY JOB SEARCH

In all three proposals, recipients will go through supervised job search as the first step in their employability plan and must take a private sector job if they are offered one. This provision may be a cost-effective sorting device to discourage welfare dependence by those who really could find reasonable employment. In addition, it may help to motivate some welfare recipients to improve their basic skills when they find out what poor jobs they can get without doing so.

On the other hand, those who argue against this provision point out that an individual with low skills levels may be able to obtain an entry-level, low-paying job, but without additional education and training, the job is not likely to lead to the individual being able to support a family.

JOBS/TRANSITION PROGRAM

The proposals expand the JOBS program by increasing federal funding and lowering the required state match. All services currently offered under JOBS could be available, although the House Republican bill only mandates that job search be made available. All the proposals aim for full participation and exemptions are minimized. Under the Administration's proposal, those who are not ready to participate (because of illness, responsibility for caring for an elderly family member, disability, etc.) would be assigned to JOBS-Prep to undertake some activities intended to prepare them for employment or JOBS.

The proposals expand JOBS but do not incorporate any major innovations or build in any performance or other financial incentives for states to adopt more effective approaches to literacy training, education, or employment programs.

TIME LIMITS AND WORK REQUIREMENT

The proposals impose a two-year time limit on receipt of cash assistance and participation in the JOBS/transition program. (In the Republican bills, states may limit the transition period to one year.)

Participants who have not found employment by the end of two years must participate in a work program. States can place participants in subsidized private sector jobs, public sector jobs, work supplementation, community work experience, and so forth. Funding that would have been used for cash payments would be available to cover the cost of the wages. According to the Administration plan, these positions would be short-term, last-resort jobs and interspersed with periods of job search. Under the Administration proposal, the work experience would be at least 15 hours a week and no more than 35. The House Republican bill requires 35 hours of participation.

Those who oppose a time limit point out that if strictly applied, it does not take into account the diversity of literacy levels and work experience in the welfare population. For those in the top quartile, two years may be an unnecessarily long time period. For those in the bottom third, many of whom have additional health and other problems, two years may not be nearly long enough to become "job ready."

Other concerns about the two-year clock elaborate on these points and worry that it will take away attention from individualized assessments and employability planning and focus it on the length of past or current education and training. Activities that took too long, like postsecondary education would be precluded. Programs that are readily available would be given preference over programs that might not start for several months, even if the latter were more appropriate (Greenberg, 1993).

TEEN PARENTS

The Administration bill targets school-age parents by requiring that they enroll in JOBS, complete their education, and are provided with case management and special services, including family planning counseling.

All the proposals incorporate "Learnfare" elements. The Administration's proposal and the Senate Republican bill give the states the option of offering sanctions and bonuses to parents under the age of 21 as inducements to remain in school or attend a GED class. The House bill only authorizes penalties.

The experience of the Learnfare demonstrations in Wisconsin and Ohio suggest that the "carrot-and-stick" approach with teen mothers may succeed in getting many to complete their education, although it is not known whether this will translate into higher rates of employment. These demonstrations also revealed the many difficult challenges involved in getting the schools and other education agencies to coordinate with welfare agencies in monitoring attendance and applying the sanctions.

The Teenage Parent Demonstration and another intensive but voluntary program targeting teen mothers who drop out of school, the New Chance Demonstration, have revealed that while teenage parents may be the group that is most important to target from the perspective of their being at highest risk of long-term welfare dependency, they are also the group for which it is the most difficult to provide successful education and training. Effective case management is a key component, and the case managers caseloads need to be in the 25-40 range.

CONCLUSIONS

Attention to literacy skills deficits is essential to any successful welfare reform initiative. Yet, it is clear that current literacy program models and the JOBS focus on sequential basic skills followed by job skills training is unlikely to lead to employment for many welfare mothers, and especially unlikely to lead to their getting jobs that help them achieve self-sufficiency. Not only do most basic education programs fail to produce the necessary skills gains, they also do not address other barriers to labor market success.

Policymakers are faced with many dilemmas as they set priorities for welfare reform. Given the severe limitation on additional resources, many decisions have to be made about targeting and phasing in the new requirements and how to implement any time limits.

It is important for policymakers to recognize the diversity within the welfare population. One fourth have skills to succeed in the labor market. They need help with other impediments to employment (such as child care or medical benefits) or simply incentives (or requirements) to move forward. Another quarter could probably proceed to job training or engage in a combination of basic skills upgrade and job training as a way of improving their employment options. The remainder, about a half of the total, present real challenges in terms of how to help them overcome basic skills deficiencies—deficiencies that arise as a result of failures in the school system, unrecognized learning disabilities, and other personal and familial difficulties that pose a serious barrier to training and employment. These challenges cannot be expected to be overcome through the typical, short-term, adult literacy program.

Each of these groups then needs to be guided by a different set of expectations and a different package of services if they are to achieve long-term self-sufficiency. Federal and state policymakers designing the education and training components of welfare reform need to provide a continuum of services so that each individual's needs can be met effectively.

Welfare reform proposals that focus solely on moving the largest number of individuals into work as quickly as possible through intense job search activities and minimal basic skills training may succeed with those who are already job ready, or nearly so. However, the result for many may be low-paying, entry-level jobs that do not offer a ladder towards self-sufficiency. Additionally, some are likely to recycle back onto welfare.

A better strategy would be to also offer the large group of individuals with very low literacy levels and other barriers a more intensive, individualized, family-based approach that integrates literacy with job training and provides avenues and resources to overcome other barriers that preclude so many mothers from succeeding in training or jobs.

Whether only one or a combination of strategies are pursued, the evidence and experience reviewed in this report strongly suggest that if the adult education system is to be a useful partner in welfare reform, literacy programs need to be substantially redesigned and much more effort needs to be invested in assuring that they achieve the desired results.

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APPENDIX A: THE EXPERIENCE OF CALIFORNIA, NEW JERSEY, AND OHIO

While there is little information or data available as yet that gives a national picture of how states are implementing education in their welfare reform efforts, information is available from particular states and has been discussed above. California, Ohio, and New Jersey are each involved in innovative efforts that strongly emphasize basic education. We felt it would be useful here to provide a summary description of the components of each of these states current initiatives. These provide insight on some of the challenges involved in developing an effective education component for welfare participants.

CALIFORNIA'S GREATER AVENUES FOR INDEPENDENCE PROGRAM (GAIN)

(Source: Martinson & Friedlander, 1994)

California's welfare-to-work program, Greater Avenues for Independence Program (GAIN), which began in 1986, is unique in its emphasis on large-scale, mandatory participation in basic education and the extent of the state's financial investment in these programs. The Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation has been doing ongoing evaluations of the GAIN program since its inception, including a focus on the education component. From 1988-1990, they studied a sample of more than 2,500 welfare recipients and evaluated the basic education component of GAIN in six California counties. (Alameda, Butte, Los Angeles, Riverside, San Diego, and Tulare. GAIN is overseen by the California Department of Social Services and administered by California's 58 counties.) While MDRC cautions against overinterpretation of the findings, the lessons learned are relevant to welfare reform broadly, as California has the country's biggest AFDC caseload and GAIN is one of the most ambitious state welfare reform efforts.

THE GAIN MODEL

All GAIN registrants are given an initial assessment of their education and skills level, which determines which "path" of services they will pursue. Registrants who do not to participate in their assigned activity are subject to a sanction–a reduction in their welfare benefits.

Those who do not have a GED certificate or a high school diploma, or fail to achieve a minimum score on a standardized reading and math test or are not proficient in English, are defined as "in need of basic education" and are required to attend a basic education program. They may choose to attend job search first, but if they do not find a job, they must then participate in basic education.

For those in need of basic education, the standard three types are available through GAIN: (a) ABE programs for those with lower skills levels (typically at or below the eighth-grade level), (b) GED preparation programs, and (c) ESL programs.

Individuals determined to be "not in need of basic education," generally must participate in job search first and if unsuccessful will move on to another activity such as occupational skills training.

During the period studied by MDRC, 65% of GAIN participants were determined to need basic education, over half were referred to a basic education program and, of those referred, 71% (41% of all those judged to need basic education) actually attended the program. Those who participated attended classes for roughly eight months, on average, during a two- to three-year follow-up period. However, participants were in class for only about 60% of their scheduled hours, indicating that even with intensive monitoring procedures, attendance was not consistent.

LINKING WITH THE ADULT EDUCATION SYSTEMS

The six California counties studied by MDRC were able to accommodate the GAIN students by relying primarily on the existing education services in the community and, in some cases, by expanding them. For the most part, GAIN students were offered the standard basic education programs available to other adult education students in the community. MDRC field research indicated that the programs offered met the standard quality measure of providing an "opportunity to learn." Space was available in the classes, the services were geared toward individuals' educational needs and used established methods and curricula, and the classes were held for a sizable number of hours per week (usually 15 to 20).

In San Diego County, the basic education services were specifically redesigned with different curricula and instructional methods to meet the needs of GAIN students, whom they assumed had negative experiences in traditional schools. The program was designed and funded by a consortium of agencies—school districts, the welfare department, and the Private Industry Council—and consisted of a new network of "Learning Centers." Key features included up-to-date, computer-assisted learning combined with classroom instruction, integrated academic and life skills instruction, off-campus classroom locations, a new teaching staff, and a class for learning disabled students. Riverside County, in a effort to enhance accountability, developed and funded performance-based payments with several schools for the provision of basic education services.

The adult education system is accustomed to voluntary participation. The mandatory participation of GAIN required schools to establish new procedures for monitoring attendance and performance, and for passing this information on to GAIN. Many counties experienced difficulties until they dedicated resources specifically for monitoring systems.

As noted, low attendance was also a problem that the counties sought to address. In San Diego County, case managers spent two or three days a week at schools assisting participants and trying to resolve attendance problems. In Tulare County, the GAIN program employed "transition counselors," whose primary responsibility was to achieve good attendance among GAIN students. In Riverside, GAIN students who were not attending regularly were sometimes transferred from a basic education activity to a job search activity. Despite these efforts, attendance was still rather low, ranging from 65% of scheduled hours in San Diego to 55%.

GAIN'S EDUCATION IMPACTS

MDRC data available from five of the counties showed that GAIN was successful in increasing educational attainment, as measured by the number of participants receiving their GED diploma. However, the positive impacts were concentrated on those who were most literate when they entered GAIN. The study also looked at educational achievement (reading and mathematical problem solving), as measured by the Tests of Applied Literacy Skills (TALS). The only county that produced large and statistically significant impacts on TALS scores was San Diego—the only county to create a new adult education program tailored to the GAIN population. As with the GED impacts, basic skills increases were concentrated among individuals who had the highest level of literacy when they entered GAIN. The results raise questions about whether the basic education services provided through GAIN are appropriate for less literate students. With respect to an earnings impact, in the two-year follow-up period, the educational gains did not result in employment and earnings impacts, although there is some preliminary evidence that earnings may have improved by the three-year follow-up point.

MDRC concluded that, while feasible, providing effective basic education services for a population whose participation is mandatory can be difficult, and that longer term follow-up will be important for detecting the full payoff of investments in education.

THE NEW JERSEY FAMILY DEVELOPMENT PLAN (FDP)

The Family Development Act was enacted in January 1992 to institute new reforms in New Jersey's welfare system. Media attention has focused almost entirely on the controversial provision disallowing increased AFDC benefits to additional children born while the family is receiving welfare—the so-called "family cap." However, the initiative is an innovative, comprehensive reform package focusing on improving the well-being of all family members and investing in human capital. It aims to set a new direction of "individual responsibility, family stability, and self-sufficiency."

The Family Development Plan was one of six welfare reform bills introduced by Assemblyman Wayne Bryant and passed by the New Jersey legislature. It builds upon the state's JOBS program, known as Project REACH, and became operational in the three largest welfare counties of Camden, Essex, and Hudson in October 1992. Five more counties were phased in by October 1991. The 13 remaining counties will begin the program in 1995, pending increased funding by the legislature. Because the program is so new, evaluation data are not yet available. Rutgers University was recently awarded a contract to undertake a five-year evaluation.

FDP includes several unique components: an emphasis on assessing and providing for the needs of the whole family, a strong emphasis on investing in education, and the establishment of one-stop family resource centers in each county.

FAMILY-CENTERED APPROACH

The FDP looks beyond the head of the AFDC household and is concerned with all the members of the family, realizing that numerous family circumstances and factors can impact on the success of the family's becoming economically self-sufficient. Thus, when an AFDC client enters the FDP, the case manager assesses the needs of the whole family and provides services or makes referrals as appropriate—for example, for substance abuse treatment for an adolescent, early intervention services for a preschool child, and/or basic education for the parent.

Based on this assessment, the AFDC client, together with the case manager, develops a family plan that outlines each family member's education and job goals (when relevant) and service needs. The case manager is then responsible for coordinating the service plan, monitoring progress, and reassessing the needs as necessary. Effective case management is viewed as critical to the success of the program.

Another important provision in the law, instituted to promote the goal of family unity, equalizes the grant amount received by two-parent AFDC families by eliminating the 30% reduction in benefits that AFDC two-parent families experienced previously.

FOCUS ON EDUCATION

The FDP is based on the principle that education is the key to self-sufficiency. The program assures that each participant and family member, as appropriate, has the opportunity to attain the equivalent of a high school education, if such education is consistent with the participant's employment goal.

This aspect of the plan is being implemented somewhat differently in various counties. In the northern counties, where levels of literacy tend to be below 5th- or 6th-grade level and many are non-English-speaking, the education component invested heavily in ESL, GED, and ABE programs.

In other counties, the education is more focused on developing occupational skills. The program allows participants to attend higher levels of education, including four-year colleges and community colleges. Case managers assist participants in obtaining Pell Grants or Tuition Assistance Grants to pay for the tuition.

State monies are used as a lever to encourage the school and other education agencies to adapt their regular programs for welfare clients, for example, by offering the programs during the day and offering more hours per week.

FAMILY RESOURCE CENTERS

Each county FDP program is required to establish a family resource center, which is a community-based facility that provides multiple, key services in a single location in a manner that provides the family with ease of access. Certain basic services are required to be offered at the Center in its first year of operation. These include case management, family counseling, child care counseling and referral, job development and job placement services, family support, educational resource development, and social and health services information and referral.

The ultimate goal of the family resource centers is to serve as a single point of entry for the major services of the workforce readiness system, providing the family with the support it needs to proceed through the system. Programs and services such as adult basic education are not necessarily provided on-site, but arrangements for participation are made at the center. Counties are encouraged to expand the services offered by these centers as they identify other needs and opportunities.

The development of family resource centers has fostered greater coordination and collaboration among state and local agencies. Center staff may include representatives from the social services department, income maintenance department, and the labor department.

For more information on the Family Development Program contact: Marion Reitz, Director, FDP, Division of Human Services, CN 716, Trenton, NJ 08625. Tel: (609) 588-2000.

OHIO'S LEARNING, EARNING, AND PARENTING (LEAP) PROGRAM

(Source: Bloom et al., 1993)

Ohio's LEAP program is an innovative initiative that combines financial incentives and penalties to encourage school attendance and high school completion among pregnant teens and teen mothers on welfare. As a "learnfare" strategy, it is unique in that it is large scale, statewide, and uses both incentives and penalties. The program is mandatory for all pregnant women and custodial parents (almost all are women) under 20 years old who are receiving AFDC and do not have a high school diploma or GED certificate. This includes both teens who head welfare cases and those who receive assistance on someone else's case (usually the teen's mother).

Under the program rules, all eligible teens are required to regularly attend a school or program leading to a high school diploma or GED certificate. This applies both to teens who are in school when they become eligible for LEAP—(they must remain enrolled)—and to dropouts who must return to high school or enter an adult basic education (ABE) program to prepare for the GED test. A three-tiered incentive structure has been set up in the following manner:

- Teens who provide evidence that they are enrolled in a school or program receive an initial bonus payment of $62 and then receive an additional $62 in their welfare check for each month in which they meet the program's attendance requirements. (For teens in a full-time high school, this means being absent no more than four times in the month, with two or fewer unexcused absences. Different attendance standards apply for teens in a part-time ABE program.)

- Teens who do not attend an initial LEAP assessment interview or fail to provide proof of school enrollment have $62 deducted from their grant every month until they comply with the program rules. Enrolled teens are sanctioned $62 for each month in which they exceed the allowed number of unexcused absences.
- Teens who exceed the allowed number of total absences but not the allowed number of unexcused absences in a month earn neither a bonus nor a sanction.

LEAP sanctions and bonuses can substantially change the income of participants. During the period studied by MDRC, a teen living on her own with one child was eligible for a monthly AFDC grant of $274. A bonus would raise it to $336, a sanction lower it to $212. The total difference between a teen who received a bonus and one who received a sanction was $124.

Each LEAP teen is assigned a case manager who monitors the teen's compliance and helps the teen overcome barriers to attendance. Teens are also eligible to receive child care and transportation assistance. Finally, the program incorporates extensive due process procedures that provide opportunities for teens to respond before grant reductions are imposed. Because Ohio has a county-administered welfare system, many aspects of the program's implementation are left to the discretion of the counties.

KEY IMPACTS OF LEAP

The results of the LEAP program have been positive, suggesting that the program's components might serve as a model for other states. While the findings are preliminary, early evidence suggests that LEAP may produce a significant gain in high school graduation and GED certificate receipt. Other findings are as follows:

- LEAP improved the daily attendance of high school students and prevented some in-school teens from dropping out (10% increase in continuous school enrollment) and brought some dropouts back. For dropouts, there was a 13% increase in the rate at which teens returned to high school or entered adult education programs.
- LEAP incorporated most eligible teens into its incentive system. More than 90% of teens in the largest three counties in Ohio were scheduled for at least one bonus or one sanction during their first 18 months in LEAP.
- Most teens who were recent dropouts and resumed their schooling because of LEAP returned to high school. Longer term dropouts who returned almost always entered adult education programs.

IMPLEMENTATION ISSUES IN OHIO

The LEAP model requires a variety of complex linkages, within and across agencies, that generally did not previously exist. For example, monitoring teens' attendance requires close cooperation between schools and welfare agencies, and adjusting the welfare grants involves coordination across divisions of welfare agencies. While all counties experienced operational problems, particularly during the start-up period, program operations became smoother over time.

APPENDIX B: ORGANIZATIONAL RESOURCES

We include here descriptions of the major national organizations related to literacy that are resources for further information and are referred to in this report. (Lists of comparable organizations in the field of family poverty and welfare reform are available from the Family Impact Seminar. Tel: (202) 467-5114.)

CENTER FOR EMPLOYMENT TRAINING (CET)

CET was created in the 1960s as one of the Opportunities Industrialization Centers (OIC) serving the employment needs of the large Latino population of San Jose, California. In 1976, CET separated from the OIC to respond to the community groups who wanted to duplicate its approach to vocational education for the unskilled and unemployed poor. From 1978 to 1985, CET opened 21 new training centers through Southern California, Idaho, Colorado, and Arizona. Today, the CET organization includes 30 centers. Its students include the full range of minority, ethnic, and language groups found in the United States.

The major features of the CET model include (a) an outreach/recruitment system; (b) a screening/placement service in which students determine their own strengths and needs (instead of using standardized tests of ability); (c) vocational training programs that use a functional context approach in which training closely stimulates the job setting, basic skills education is integrated with job skills training, and progress and completion are based on competent task performance, not simply completion of a certain number of hours of training; (d) support services, including financial aid, personal counseling, and child care; and (e) job placement that includes the identification of well-paying jobs and training tailored to meeting the needs of the employers in the local region.

In 1992, the Rockefeller Foundation funded an evaluation of the effectiveness of four community-based organizations that provided comprehensive employment-training programs for low-income minority single mothers. One of these programs was the CET located in San Jose, California. Analyses of the data in this rigorous experimental study indicate that CET made large positive impacts on employment and earnings by the end of the first year, while at the other sites there were no statistically reliable differences between trainees and control groups. Furthermore, many more treatment group members than control members were still enrolled in education and training programs at the 12-month follow-up.

Contact: Center for Employment Training, 701 Vine Street, San Jose, CA 95110. Tel: (408) 287-7924.

NATIONAL ADULT LITERACY AND LEARNING DISABILITIES CENTER

This Center was established in October 1993 to raise national awareness about the relationship between adult literacy and learning disabilities, and help literacy practitioners, policymakers, and researchers better meet the needs of adults with learning disabilities. The Center provides information on best practices in screening and interventions for learning disabilities, and on the impact of learning disabilities on the provision of literacy services.

The Center is funded by the National Institute for Literacy and is operated by the Academy for Educational Development in collaboration with the University of Kansas Institute for Research in Learning Disabilities. A main function of the Center is to establish a national information exchange network on information, research, and resources on the relationship between adult literacy a learning disabilities. The Center will also seek to create linkages and partnerships among programs and agencies with concern for adult literacy and learning disabilities, and to provide training and technical assistance in current best practices for screening and remediation to literacy providers and practitioners.

Contact: National Adult Literacy and Learning Disabilities Center, Academy for Educational Development, 1875 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20009. Tel: (202) 884-8185.

NATIONAL CENTER ON ADULT LITERACY

The National Center on Adult Literacy (NCAL) at the University of Pennsylvania was created in 1990 to provide national leadership for research and development in adult literacy. It was established by the Office of Educational Research and Improvement, U.S. Department of Education with co-funding from the Departments of Labor and Health and Human Services. NCAL heads a national initiative to improve literacy by providing (a) a broad knowledge base on adult literacy, (b) information and technical assistance for research and development activities, (c) a strong two-way link between practitioners and researchers, and (d) a forum for national dialogue on the multifaceted questions posed by adult literacy.

Dissemination of information is done through the following means:

- the NCAL *Connections* newsletter, targeted for practitioners, researchers, and policymakers;
- workshops, conferences, roundtables, and policy forums;
- technical reports;
- summaries and commentaries on research and policy issues in response to requests from media and policymakers;
- a Literacy Technology Laboratory and staff who explore the range of technological developments and their application to adult literacy instruction;

- electronic versions of most research findings via on-line systems or diskettes; and
- an electronic mailbox for questions and requests.

Contact: National Center on Adult Literacy, University of Pennsylvania, 3910 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, PA 19104-3111. Tel: (215) 898-2100

NATIONAL CENTER FOR FAMILY LITERACY

The National Center for Family Literacy (NCFL) was founded in 1989 with a grant from the William R. Kenan Charitable Trust to promote family literacy programming and see it implemented effectively across the nation. The primary goal of the programs of the Center is to break the intergenerational cycle of undereducation and poverty by improving parents' basic skills and attitudes towards education, their parenting skills, their children's preliteracy skills and school readiness skills, and the quality of parent-child relationships.

The Center's two major service initiatives are the Kenan Trust Family Literacy Program and the Toyota Families for Learning Program. Other program initiatives include the Apple Partnership Program, which involves the use of computers in family literacy programs; the Bureau of Indian Affairs Program, which is designed to meet the needs of American Indians; the Workplace Literacy Program; and state and federal collaboration programs with Even Start and Head Start.

NCFL is also working to support the expansion of family literacy in the nation through

- the National Family Literacy Project (NFLP) by identifying and disseminating innovative family literacy programs and best practices (This project is also developing standards of program quality.)
- the Training and Technical Assistance department by providing training, technical assistance, curriculum materials, and support services for training; and
- the Research department by planning a research and evaluation agenda for family literacy.

Contact: The National Center for Family Literacy, Waterfront Plaza, Suite 200, 325 W. Main Street, Louisville, KY 40202-4251. Tel: (502) 584-1133.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR LITERACY

The National Institute for Literacy (NIFL) was created by the National Literacy Act of 1991 and is administered under an interagency agreement between the Secretaries of Education, Labor, and Health and Human Services. The purpose of the Institute is to enhance the national effort to achieve full literacy by the year 2000 by creating a national support system for literacy and serving as the national focal point for interagency policy development, dissemination of information, technical assistance, program evaluation, and research and demonstration.

NIFL conducts the following activities: (a) assist federal agencies in setting objectives and strategies for improving literacy; (b) conduct basic and applied research and demonstrations on literacy; (c) assist federal, state, and local agencies in the development implementation and evaluation of policies related to literacy; (d) provide training and technical assistance to programs; (e) collect and disseminate information on best practices and program models; (f) award literacy fellowships to individuals pursuing careers in adult education or literacy.

In 1992, the Institute launched its grants program by providing about $3.1 million to 36 research and demonstration projects. In 1993, the NIFL Grants Program funded (a) the National Adult Literacy and Learning Disabilities Center (see above description); (b) the Literacy and Information Communication Network, to develop an Internet-based system that will allow literacy providers, students, and policymakers to communicate with each other, share information, and access national databases; (c) the State Capacity Building Grants to assist states in improving the quality of their literacy services through interagency collaboration; and (d) the NIFL/National Education Goals Panel/National Governors Association *Goal 6* Project, which commissioned a series of papers on how literacy is important to meeting several important national policy priorities.

Contact: National Institute for Literacy, 800 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 200, Washington, DC 20202-7560. Tel: (202) 632-1500.

WIDER OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN (WOW)

WOW is a national women's employment organization devoted to increasing economic independence and equality of opportunity for women and their families. WOW helps women learn to earn through programs in literacy, employment training for technical and nontraditional skills, and economic development. WOW coordinates a network of 500 women's education, training, and employment programs, which serve 300,000 women each year.

The following are some of WOW's literacy-related activities in 1994:

- The Literacy in Context Project is a national technical assistance project for program providers that want to integrate the teaching of adult literacy and employment skills, or add intergenerational program enhancements to their adult education and training programs. Since 1992, the project has implemented three levels of technical assistance: (a) the dissemination of information and training material to members of WOW's Workforce Network, (b) national technical assistance training events, and (c) small grants for program refinements, including on-site training. With support from the National Institute for Literacy, WOW evaluated these three levels of technical assistance.
- The WORK Skills Project is a family literacy program for Washington, DC-area women that integrates basic skills, introduction to nontraditional and technical jobs, and family learning activities.

- The Nontraditional Employment Training Project, which provides technical assistance for the JTPA system on improving the access of women to nontraditional occupations.

Contact: Wider Opportunities for Women, Inc., 1325 G Street, NW, Lower Level, Washington, DC 20005. Tel: (202) 638-3143.

APPENDIX C: TABLE

Table 1

Education, Basic Skills, and Earnings Impacts for Gain Participants (Two to Three Years After Enrollment)

	GED/HS Diploma ***		Test of Applied Literacy		Monthly Earnings ($) **	
Site	Control Group Mean	Estimated Impact	Control Group Mean	Estimated Impact	Control Group Mean	Estimated Impact
Alameda	1.2	7.7*	480	2.3	101	9
Los Angeles	0.5	2.2*	445	3.7	98	0
Riverside	3.6	2.6	507	-19.9*	113	73*
San Diego	2.6	4.2*	454	33.8*	159	14
Tulare	1.8	19.0*	478	-10.2	120	12
Total (N=1,115)	2.0	7.1*	475	1.8	na	na

Note. From Martinson & Friedlander, 1994, Tables 1 & 2, and Friedlander et al., 1993, Table 4 & 2.4.

*** Obtained after referral to GAIN.
** Estimates pertain to the subgroup determined to need basic education.
* Significantly different from zero at .10 level

APPENDIX D: FIGURES

Figure 1 *Percentage failing the most basic prose literacy tasks (Proficiency Score <226).* *D–iii*

Figure 2 *Percentage of welfare-dependent teenage parents with jobs training and employment experience by reading skills.* *D–iv*

Figure 3 *Programs, agencies, and funding streams: the Masschusetts example.* *D–v*

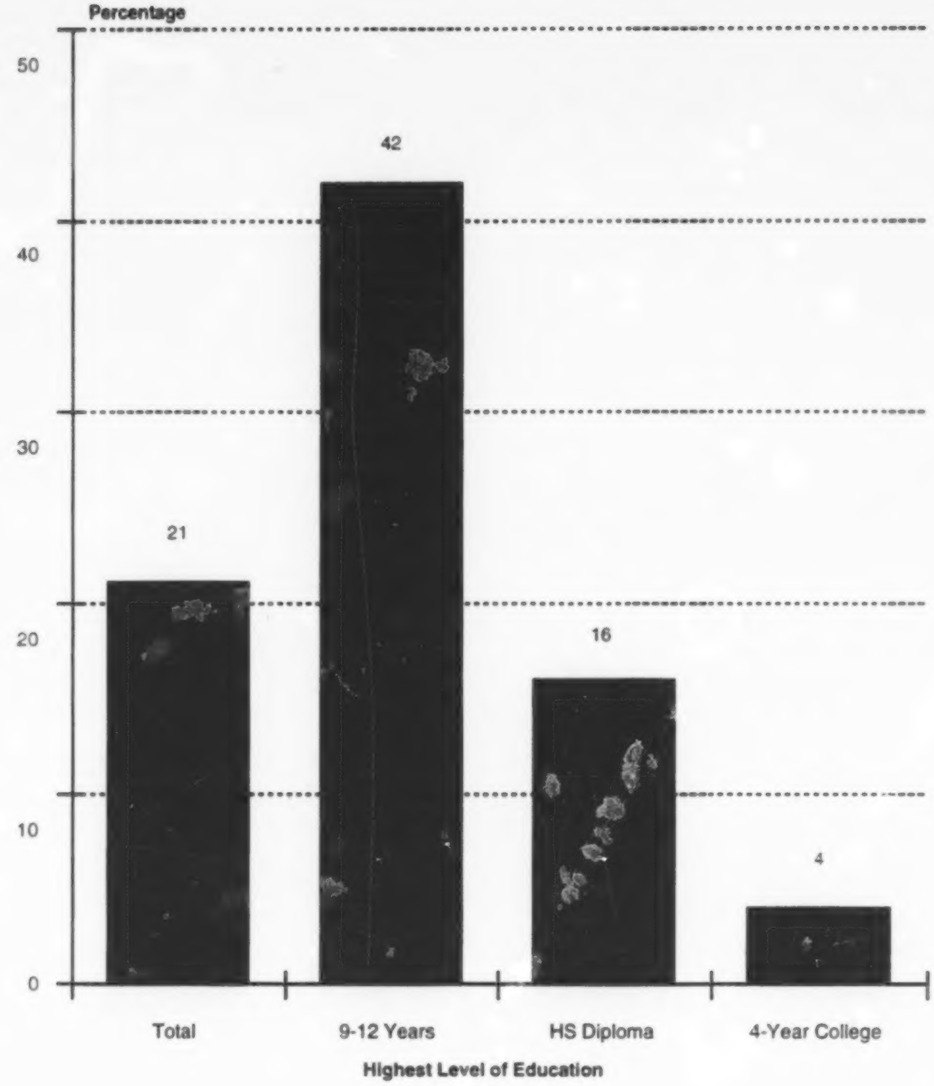

Figure 1. Percentage failing the most basic prose literacy tasks (Proficiency Score<226).

Note. From Kirsh et al., 1993, Figures 1.1 & 1.3.

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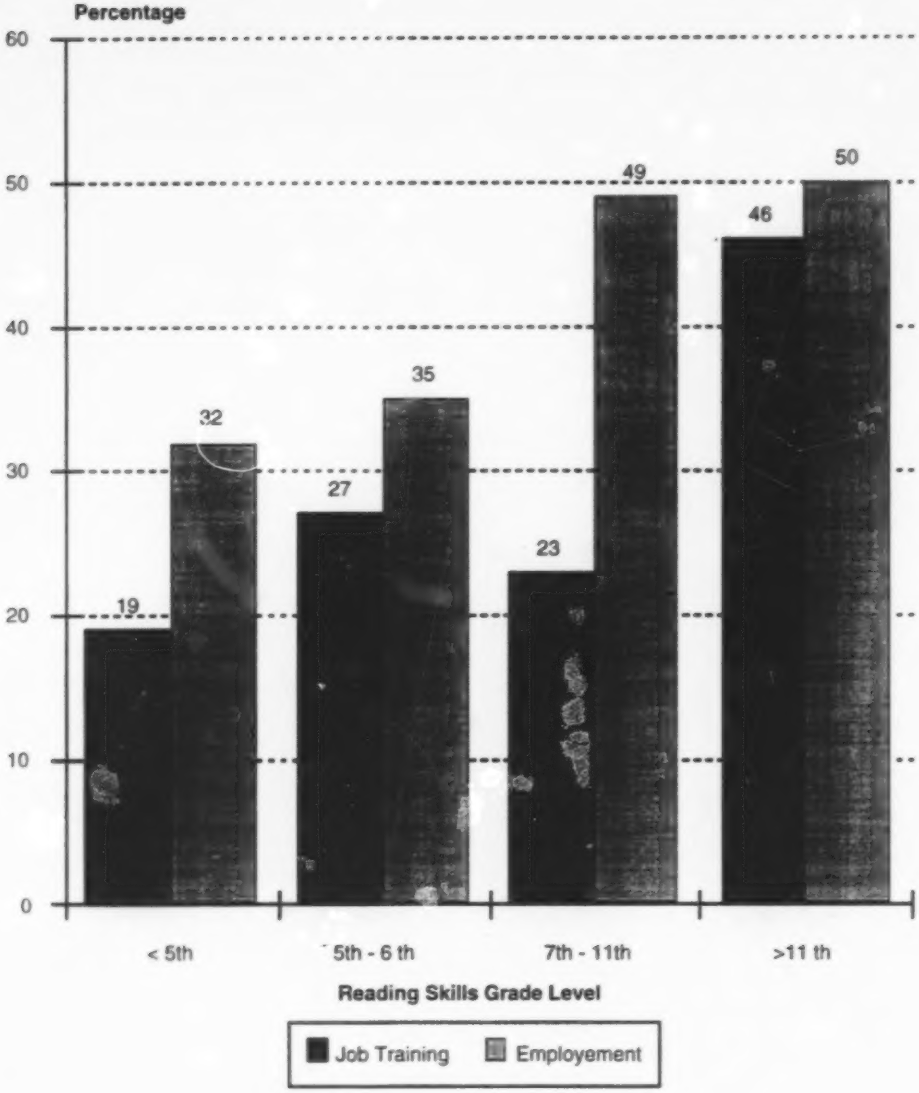
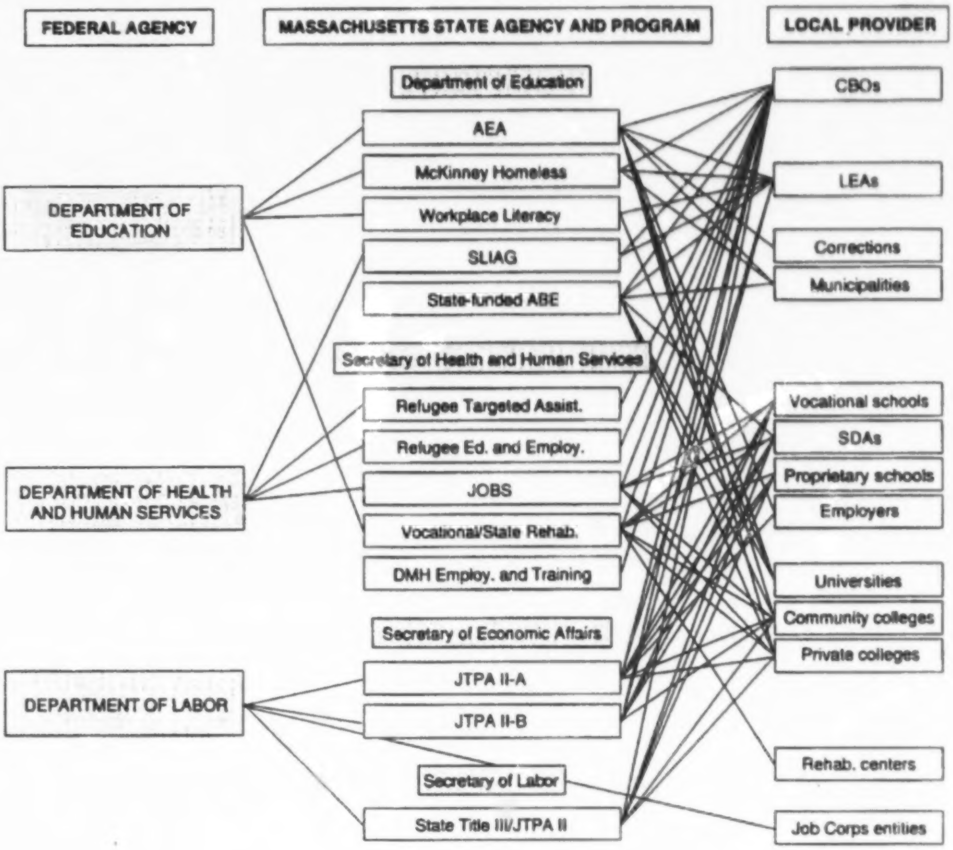


Figure 2. Percentage of welfare-dependent teenage parents with job training and employment experience by reading skills.

Note. From Rangarajan et al., 1992, Table 11.

State participation in multiple Federal basic skills, workforce training, and related programs often produces complex interagency relationships and funding streams at the State and local levels, especially when the State funds its own programs with similar goals. The range of workforce development and basic skills programs in the State of Massachusetts, though far from the most complex State example, suggests the complex webs that arise from the interplay of different funding streams.


FEDERAL AGENCY
MASSACHUSETTS STATE AGENCY AND PROGRAM
LOCAL PROVIDER
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Department of Education
AEA
McKinney Homeless
Workplace Literacy
SLIAG
State-funded ABE
Secretary of Health and Human Services
Refugee Targeted Assist.
Refugee Ed. and Employ.
JOBS
Vocational/State Rehab.
DMH Employ. and Training
Secretary of Economic Affairs
JTPA II-A
JTPA II-B
Secretary of Labor
State Title III/JTPA II
CBOs
LEAs
Corrections
Municipalities
Vocational schools
SDAs
Proprietary schools
Employers
Universities
Community colleges
Private colleges
Rehab. centers
Job Corps entities

KEY
AEA = Adult Education Act
SLIAG = State Legalization Impact Assistance Grants
ABE = Adult Basic Education
JOBS = Job Opportunities and Basic Skills
JTPA = Job Training Partnership Act

CBO = Community-based organization
LEA = local education agencies
SDA = service delivery area
Rehab. = rehabilitation

Figure 3. Programs, agencies, and funding streams: the Masschusetts example.

Note. From OTA, 1993, based on information developed by the Massachusetts Jobs Council.

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